DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The Sociocultural Milieux of 'Chinese' Language Learning in Belfast: Diaspora and Difference

Wang, Sha

Award date:
2017

Awarding institution:
Queen's University Belfast

Queen's University Belfast

Thesis Deposit Form

To be completed by Student

Degree:	Doctor of Philosophy-PhD in Social Anthropology
Full Name:	Sha Wang

Thesis title:

The Sociocultural Milieux of 'Chinese' Language Learning in Belfast: Diaspora and Difference

Summary: (max. 300 words)

This dissertation investigates Mandarin and Cantonese language learning and Chinese identity formation amongst young people of Chinese descent in Northern Ireland. It explores their attitude to language learning in domestic and Chinese Language School (CLS) environments and their parents' and teachers' engagement. Looking at this broader social context, it investigates the inter-linkage between linguistic practices and claimed 'Chinese identities', the formation of 'Chinese community' through linguistic practices; and the workings of diasporic institutions such as Chinese language schools. It pays close attention to the ways in which individual differences and life trajectories inform practices of community and family making through linguistic performance. The research is based on the theoretical framework of ethnicity and identification; diaspora and community dynamics; individual trajectory; migration and transnationalism; linguistic anthropology and studies on Chinese migration and Chinese migration in Northern Ireland.

The central research question is: How do practices of Mandarin and Cantonese language learning amongst children of Chinese origin in Belfast reflect, inform or undermine specific discourses and performances of identity and belonging? To address this question, the dissertation focuses on several sub-themes. What are the Chinese migrant children's linguistic practices and Chinese language learning experiences in the domestic environment and the Chinese Language Schools in Northern Ireland? What are the reasons and motivation for their linguistic behaviour and attitude? What are the Chinese parents' expectation and attitudes towards Chinese language education in Northern Ireland? To what extent do the parents' efforts affect children's performance at the language schools? The research is based on several methods, including participant-observation in school events, teachers' meetings and classes; semi-structured and in-depth interviews with migrant Chinese parents and teachers; questionnaires with pupils from CLS and visual and audio data collection.

To be completed by Examiner

EXAMINER CERTIFICATION OF SUBMITTED WORK

I hereby certify that this is the final accepted copy of the submitted work and that all required amendments have been completed and submitted within the required deadline.

Name of Examiner: LISETTE JOSEPHIDES

Signature of Examiner: Lisette Josephides **Date:** 22 August 20A

To be completed by Student

Student Declaration:

I give permission for my thesis to be made available, under regulations determined by the University, for inclusion in the University Library, consultation by readers in the School, inter-library lending for use in another library and to be photocopied, electronically reproduced and to be stored and made available publicly in electronic format
Please tick as appropriate:

i) Immediately ☑
Or
ii) After an embargo period of 1 year ☐ 2 years ☐ 3 years ☐ 4 years ☐ 5 years ☐

Reason for embargo: (applies to both print and e-thesis)

☐ The thesis is due for publication, either as a series of articles or as a monograph

☐ The thesis includes material that was obtained under a promise of confidentiality

☐ Would substantially prejudice the commercial interests of the author, the University or an external company

☐ Contains information which may endanger the physical/mental health or personal safety of an individual(s)

I wish to embargo the e-thesis copy permanently: (applies to e-thesis only)

☐ The thesis contains material whose copyright belongs to a third party and the gaining of approval to publish the material electronically would be onerous or expensive; and the removal of the copyright material would compromise the thesis

---

CONFIRMATION OF DATA/HUMAN TISSUE SAMPLES HANDOVER

All research involving human participants, their tissue (e.g. blood, saliva, urine) or their data (interviews, consent forms, questionnaires) must be retained by the University for at least five years. These sources must be handed over to your supervisor. Please confirm, by ticking the appropriate box, that:

☑ I have provided my supervisor with all laboratory notebooks and/or primary source material pertaining to the study, including electronic data.

☐ I have identified for my supervisor the location of stored human tissue samples and provided an inventory of these.

☐ Due to the nature of the project I am not required to handover any data or samples relating to my thesis.

Signature of Student: Sha Wang **Date:** 15 August 2017

To be completed by Supervisor

SUPERVISOR CONFIRMATION AND APPROVAL

I approve any embargo request above and confirm that the information given regarding Data/Human tissue samples is correct and that, where applicable*, the final copy of the thesis has also been made available in electronic format (e-thesis) via PURE.

Name of Supervisor: MARUŠKA SVAŠEK

Signature of Supervisor:

Date: 25/08/2017

* RCUK funded students and all students who commence research from September 2016 must also submit an electronic copy of their thesis via Pure

The Sociocultural Milieux of 'Chinese' Language Learning in Belfast: Diaspora and Difference

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Sha Wang (B.A., M.A.)

Words: 80,879

School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy and Politics,

Queen's University Belfast

18 August 2017

Abstract

This dissertation investigates Mandarin and Cantonese language learning and Chinese identity formation amongst young people of Chinese descent in Northern Ireland. It explores their attitude to language learning in domestic and Chinese Language School (CLS) environments and their parents' and teachers' engagement. Looking at this broader social context, it investigates the inter-linkage between linguistic practices and claimed 'Chinese identities', the formation of 'Chinese community' through linguistic practices; and the workings of diasporic institutions such as Chinese language schools. It pays close attention to the ways in which individual differences and life trajectories inform practices of community and family making through linguistic performance. The research is based on the theoretical framework of ethnicity and identification; diaspora and community dynamics; individual trajectory; migration and transnationalism; linguistic anthropology and studies on Chinese migration and Chinese migration in Northern Ireland.

The central research question is: How do practices of Mandarin and Cantonese language learning amongst children of Chinese origin in Belfast reflect, inform or undermine specific discourses and performances of identity and belonging? To address this question, the dissertation focuses on several sub-themes. What are the Chinese migrant children's linguistic practices and Chinese language learning experiences in the domestic environment and the Chinese Language Schools in Northern Ireland? What are the reasons and motivation for their linguistic behaviour and attitude? What are the Chinese parents' expectation and attitudes towards Chinese language education in Northern Ireland? To what extent do the parents' efforts affect children's performance at the language schools? The research is based

on several methods, including participant-observation in school events, teachers' meetings and classes; semi-structured and in-depth interviews with migrant Chinese parents and teachers; questionnaires with pupils from CLS and visual and audio data collection.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments

My years working on my PhD at Queen's University Belfast were extremely beneficial, and one of the most memorable and valuable parts of this experience was the generosity of people and institutions in giving me guidance and support.

I would like to express my most sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr Maruška Svašek. Her professional and rigorous research attitude; enthusiasm and dedication to supervising my work, as well as her considerate, kind and patient character not only had a huge impact on my PhD research, but also will benefit me for my life and career in the future. Her tremendous supervision, guidance and encouragement was essential to the completion of this project.

I am very grateful to my second supervisor Dr John Knight and also Dr Jonathan Skinner who filled this role in the early part of my research. Their valuable input and advice research inspired my research and writing. Many thanks also to Dr Gordon Ramsey who spent his precious time to proofread my dissertation.

During my PhD, I received research and conference funding from the School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy and Politics; assistance and support from school academic staff for my annual reviews and from administrative and clerical staff in dealing with the complexities of my registration. I also appreciate the role of Queen's Graduate School in providing more than thirty days of postgraduate training which was of great help for my research and future career; and of course, Queen's library's contribution of such rich academic resources and comfortable and pleasant learning

spaces and environment which I will definitely miss and hope to revisit. I owe a debt of appreciation to all of them.

It would be impossible to have completed this project without the cooperation and support of the institutions I was studying and of individual informants: two Chinese language schools (CLS) in Belfast; the Chinese Welfare Association; CLS officials and teachers; parents and pupils and other Chinese and local friends in Northern Ireland. A special thank you to Alan Lui and his Success Lion Dance Association for their enormous help with my fieldwork.

Finally, but by no means least, I would like to say a heartfelt thank you to my family and friends: my husband Séamas Ó Lahbradha and our son Leon; my parents-in-law; my parents and relatives in China and classmates at Queen's University. Their priceless understanding, support and encouragement gave me strength and motivation to persevere through the most challenging periods to complete this project.

Abbreviations

BBC	British Born Chinese
BCCC	Belfast Chinese Christian Church
CCC (NI)	Chinese Chamber of Commerce (NI)
CLS	Chinese Language School
CNY	Chinese New Year
CNYC	Chinese New Year Celebration
CWA	Chinese Welfare Association
HK	Hong Kong
L1	First language
L2	Second language
MSA	Mandarin Speakers Association
NI	Northern Ireland

List of tables

Chapter 2

Chapter 6

List of figures and diagrams

Chapter 2

Chapter 3

Chapter 4

Chapter 5

Chapter 6

Chapter 7

Introduction

My very first encounter with the Chinese Language School Northern Ireland (CLS) was at a local market which was holding a Chinese New Year celebration in January 2009 when I was an MA student. My eye was caught by a CLS promotional stall displaying their activities and demonstrating some Chinese calligraphy. Having only been in Northern Ireland (NI) for four months, it still felt like an unfamiliar place to me and when I recognized the familiar sight of what I saw at the time as 'my own culture and language' being celebrated, I felt a strong emotional reaction. It was pleasantly surprising to see people of Chinese descent engaged in 'Chinese' cultural traditions in a European country. Until then, I had not encountered such a large group of Chinese migrant families in one place. Yet I soon realised that there was a cultural distance between us: I am a Mandarin speaker and the Chinese people behind the stall were speaking Cantonese which I did not understand. As will become clear in this dissertation, this meant that the category of 'Chinese' needs to be critically explored. At the time, such critical thinking was the last thing on my mind – rather, having experienced the familiarity of seeing Chinese writing and objects followed by the distance of realising that we spoke different languages, my thoughts turned to practical issues. I was looking for a part-time job at the time, so I summoned up the courage to approach the stall and ask if there were any opportunities to teach Mandarin. I left my contact details in hope, but received no communications from them until September the same year when the new term started. They were recruiting new teachers and put up a notice on the front door of CWA, so I applied to work as a substitute teacher for the school. I was interviewed and accepted, and finally joined the CLS teachers' team.

After a period of substitute teaching, attending teachers' meetings and eventually taking over my own class, I came to feel like an insider at the school. This experience was familiar and new to me at the same time. It was familiar because I had been in school environments in China for more than ten years as a student. It was also new because this school was different in many ways from those I had attended in China and, moreover, I switched roles from student to teacher. By the time I started teaching my own class, I had discovered that the teachers, parents and pupils of CLS came from a wide variety of backgrounds. I could feel the distance between us when we were speaking Chinese languages that were mutually unintelligible, or when other 'Chinese' people did or said something that was unfamiliar to me. In the class, teachers could not teach pupils completely in Mandarin or Cantonese, because children's Chinese language levels were different, and despite being of Chinese descent, most spoke English as a first language. Outside CLS, I also met Chinese parents who did not push their children too hard to learn Chinese languages because ultimately, they expected their children to live in the UK: an English-speaking country. From the moment that I first cast my eyes on the CLS stall, then, it became apparent that there was much more diversity, complexity and fluidity in Northern Ireland's 'Chinese community' than my initial emotional reaction could comprehend.

When I went to work on Sundays to CLS, crowds of Chinese parents, pupils and teachers at the school gate reminded me of the lively scenes of my schooldays. Behind this scene, I became interested in the motivations for Chinese parents in European countries such as NI to send their children to learn Chinese languages. This initial curiosity inspired me to consider researching Chinese language learning amongst Chinese migrants in NI and ultimately, to apply to do a PhD at Queen's

University Belfast on this topic. I set out to investigate pupils' learning experiences in CLS and in their homes; to discover parents' expectations and attitudes towards Chinese language education in NI; and to consider to what extent parents' efforts affect children's performance at school and their ability in Chinese languages. I also became interested in a linguistic phenomenon that I started to notice among bilingual teachers, parents and children: the practice of code-switching and how choice of language reflected a person perceived themselves to be in relation to others. In this work, then, I will explore the inter-linkage between language practices and identity formation and the ways that this is manifested in individual language practices within diasporic Chinese organisations and 'the Chinese community'.

According to the 'Chinese International Migration Report 2015'[1] done by CCG,[2] 'there is a total number of about 60 million Chinese overseas, and Chinese international migration has become the largest overseas migration in the world'. The report revealed that from 2001 to 2011, the numbers of Chinese migrants had been steadily rising in the main migration destinations for Chinese people such as Canada and Australia. Consequently, the issue of their offspring's language and identity become increasingly prominent and urgent for these migrants. A search of the internet, using Chinese characters, throws up a host of blogs and articles relating to Chinese language education and identity, mostly written by migrant parents with first-hand experience. These blogs often offer practical solutions to the problems

[1] 王辉耀 and 苗绿. 2015. '2015 中国国际移民报告' On 《光明日报》 (http://epaper.gmw.cn/gmrb/html/2015-04/08/nw.D110000gmrb_20150408_1-16.htm, accessed 16 January 2017).

[2] 'Centre for China & Globalization (CCG), registered by the Ministry of Civil Affairs of China, is a think tank research institution composed of China Global Talents Society (CGTS), Beijing Dongyu Global Talents Development Foundation, South China Global Talent Institute, North China Global Talent Institute and China and Globalization Research Centre' ('关于 CCG': http://www.ccg.org.cn/About/, accessed 16 January 2017).

parents encounter and suggest ways to teach children Chinese overseas. The theoretical and academic literature on this topic, however, is much sparser. Most research on Chinese languages has been undertaken within mainland China by both Chinese and foreign researchers, but there is little literature focusing on Chinese language use and maintenance outside China, even in neighbouring regions and countries such as Taiwan, Macau, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, not to mention the USA, Australia and Europe (Kurpaska 2010: 207).

Anthropological research on Chinese migrants in Belfast has a unique value. When I gave a presentation about my research at a university in London, the audience were surprised that a small city such as Belfast had large enough numbers of Chinese migrants to constitute a recognised 'Chinese community' and to establish their own organisations, of which CLS is one example. The Chinese populations in larger UK cities of UK are much more numerous and in these cities, all the elements which enable the constitution of a 'Chinese community' including a wide range of Chinese organisations and businesses which provide a Chinese language environment, and in some cases, even the existence of a geographical 'Chinatown', may be taken for granted. In a smaller city such as Belfast, Chinese migrants are fewer in number, may be geographically scattered, as well as culturally and linguistically diverse. As a result, resources are limited and more effort is needed to establish and sustain organisations and to maintain Chinese languages and identity. Nevertheless, Chinese migrants in Northern Ireland demonstrate a high degree of determination and perseverance in their devotion to achieving these aims. Although the population of Chinese migrants is smaller compare to larger cities', according to the Census conducted on 27 March 2011, the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

reported that the 'Chinese community' is the largest minority ethnic group in Northern Ireland.[3] Research in the context of such a significant minority in a comparatively small location will be relevant to many migrant communities and may provide valuable data for policy making and development planning by Chinese migrants and organisations.

The seven chapters of this dissertation will explore Chinese language practices among second and third generation Chinese migrants in NI and the perspectives of CLS, migrant parents, teachers and children on Chinese language learning in a migrant context. I will also reveal the difficulties of maintaining Chinese languages and the problems faced by those involved in Chinese language education for migrant children in NI.

The theoretical framework within which these questions are analysed is set out in Chapter One. The results of the research are analysed within the frameworks of ethnicity and identification; diaspora and community dynamics; individual trajectory; migration and transnationlism; linguistic anthropology and studies of Chinese migration generally and Chinese migration to NI specifically. A range of research has been conducted on language, identity and cultural inheritance among second and third generation migrants in large cities, from disciplinary perspectives including sociology, linguistics and education. There is comparatively little research on Chinese language learning from an anthropological perspective, and little research amongst Chinese migrants in Northern Ireland. This work will do something to fill these gaps.

[3] 'Census 2011: Key Statistics for Northern Ireland', the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency. 11 December 2012.

In Chapter Two, I introduce the historical and social context of Northern Ireland. The first section describes the period of political instability known as 'the troubles'. The troubles are relevant because this period of conflict had an effect on immigration to NI, including Chinese immigration. Before immigrating, Chinese migrants' perceptions of NI were largely dependent on resources from news media, written literature, the Internet and word of mouth from relatives or friends; many of whom had concerns regarding the region's unstable history and its safety. Having set out this background, I go on to look at the history of immigration to Northern Ireland by ethnic minorities, the development of a multicultural society in the province and its social and economic situation. I then focus on Chinese migrants in Northern Ireland, describing the history of Chinese migration to Northern Ireland and the development of the 'Chinese community'. At the end of the chapter, I analyse push and pull factors contributing to Chinese immigration in the Northern Irish context.

In Chapter Three, I set out my methodology. My central research method was participant- observation. Gaining access to the field was relatively easy for me because I had already become a substitute teacher in CLS NI before I started fieldwork in February 2011. My initial role was a substitute teacher; I only took classes temporarily when a regular teacher was on leave, and I did have time to get to know the pupils in the class well, but I used this period to expand my social networks with Chinese teachers, parents and pupils and plan further fieldwork, including selecting interviewees. After about one year of working as a substitute teacher, I was asked by the School Vice-President to take over the Mandarin Grade Two class. From then on, I was doing participant-observation as a researcher and a Mandarin teacher in CLS. From the start of the term, meeting new pupils and parents,

collecting their registration forms and tuition fees, planning teaching contents, designing exam papers, marking their papers and giving feedback, I was closely engaged with parents, children and other teachers. As a teacher I undertook more responsibilities, but I obtained valuable emic experience and first hand materials as an insider in CLS. In April 2014, I had my first son and became a new mother. This was a life changing experience and a new milestone for me. From a research perspective, becoming a mother was a precious opportunity for me to think from the perspective of a Chinese migrant parent and to deepen my understanding of other such parents. I also had opportunities to meet more Chinese migrant parents, local British/Irish parents and Chinese Sure Start workers who worked with Chinese parents in Belfast through toddlers' play groups, which also helped me to gain a more comprehensive understanding of Chinese migrants and their children. Besides participant observation, I also did semi-structured and in-depth interviews with teachers and parents from CLS and Chinese Lion Dance instructors in Northern Ireland as well as other migrant parents that I met on visits to China. I also used questionnaires with pupils and some Chinese Lion Dance trainees. Visual and audio data collections were also important research methods in this project. The research was conducted under the Association of Social Anthropologists' ethical guidelines.

In Chapter Four, I explore the inter-linkages and dynamics of 'Chinese identity' formation and cultural and linguistic practices. Drawing on previous research and theorisation around language, identity and community, the discussion also extends to nationalism, communism and what it means to be 'Chinese'. In order to better understand the connection between Chinese languages and identity, I introduce the ways that language, culture and ethnicity are understood in contemporary China,

before drawing on my fieldwork to focus on the construction of 'Chinese identity' through linguistic and cultural practices in Belfast.

Chapter Five explores the relationship between linguistic practices and identity in the domestic environments of Chinese migrants. Combining interviews and fieldwork in informants' homes, the chapter explores parents' perceptions and actions in regard to children's Chinese languages learning and maintenance. Parents can play an important role in children's education, especially before school age and during hours out of school. Most Chinese migrant parents in Belfast were first-generation migrants to NI, having been born and grown up in China. In order to understand their linguistic practices out of school time and their educational standpoint, I examine personal factors including parents' experiences in China and transnational family connections. I then explore parents' expectations in regard to children's language learning and their children's future careers. I move on to consider the actions they take to reach these goals. These include creating a Chinese language environment for children at home; sending children to Chinese Language Schools; parents teaching their own children at home, participating in Chinese cultural events in NI and organising trips to China with children. Finally, I fully explore the attitude and opinions of parents regarding their children's Chinese language learning. The chapter examines the impact of individual life trajectories and changing social networks on language learning and relates this discussion to Amit and Rapport's (2002) theorisation of identity formation and community making.

Children's experiences change through their life trajectories. One of the most dramatic changes occurs when they reach school age. Chapter Six provides detailed

accounts of two Chinese language schools and of teaching and learning dynamics in classrooms. It includes teachers and parents' perspectives on Chinese language education; interactions between teachers and pupils in classrooms; pupils' learning attitude, behaviour and language usage during classes; practices of code-switching and pupils' learning motivation. Compared to family environments, schools and classes are social spaces where more formal Chinese education is received. The discussion will focus on links between language practices within these social spaces and the formation of diasporic identity and 'community'.

On the basis of the linguistic practice and dynamics of Chinese learning within domestic and CLS environments discussed in the previous two chapters, I move in Chapter Seven to examine the phenomenon of Chinese language attrition in NI. Theories of language attrition, individual experience, social networks and motivation will be the foci of discussion. The extra difficulties in language learning for children of mixed heritage, and of migrant children who have come to NI from Malaysia or Singapore will be considered. In considering mixed-heritage families my own autobiographical reflections are included, providing relevant first-hand experience which altered some of my earlier assumptions and perceptions. Reasons for language attrition and obstacles to Chinese language learning are analysed in respect to the following points: lack of language contact; priorities over Chinese learning; lack of time; and limitation of CLS education. Ethnographic fieldwork is used to illuminate all these discussions.

This anthropological research also benefits from previous scholarship in sociology, pedagogy, linguistics, psychology and history. Besides being a researcher, as a parent,

I understand the importance of learning and mastering a language during childhood, because it is an important social skill and tool for communication, to the extent that we can be overly concerned when children show signs of late speech development. At the time of writing this introduction, my son is two years old and the questions I am most frequently asked by other parents, friends and family members are about language and speech: Can he talk now? Which language are you teaching him? Does he understand Chinese? They would also suggest that he should learn both languages. But is it really necessary for Chinese migrants to learn a second language - Chinese - in an English speaking country? Does doing so make one Chinese? Or make one part of a Chinese community? These are questions which I am currently living through, and which I explore from an academic standpoint in this work.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Background

Introduction

This chapter introduces several theories that are essential to my analytical approach, namely theories of ethnicity, diaspora, community and the individual, migration, habitus, transnationalism, linguistic ideology and practice. Exploring identification through language learning is the focus of this theoretical framework. At the end of the chapter I will outline my own analytical approach and my position in these theoretical debates.

1.1 Ethnicity and Identification

Theories of ethnicity and identity are fundamental for my research, but the terms 'ethnicity' and 'identity' need to be clearly defined. Oxford anthropologist, Marcus Banks (1996), states that the term 'ethnicity' has often been used to describe various social interactions of different groups, including 'tribes', minority migrant groups and their 'host societies' (1996: i), making statements about 'boundaries, otherness, goals and achievements, being and identity, descent and classification' (1996:190). Thomas Hylland Eriksen, of the University of Oslo, remarks that terms such as 'ethnic groups', 'ethnicity', and 'ethnic conflict' are commonly used in different ways, not only as part of political discourse, but also in daily conversations and in the media; however, their meanings are 'ambiguous and vague' (2010:1).

The word 'ethnic' derives from the Greek word *ethnikos*, 'which originally meant heathen or pagan (Williams 1976:119)'. From the mid-fourteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century, 'racial' characteristics of the term gradually emerged. In the

United States, ‘ethnics’ became a polite term for ‘Jews, Italians, Irish and other people considered inferior to the dominant White Anglo-Saxon Protestant’ (‘WASP’) group around the Second World War (Eriksen 2010:4). Ethnicity studies developed from a topic seen as of little importance during the early twentieth century to a popular research area within anthropology since the 1960s. Anthropologists have generally agreed since the 1960s that theoretical definition of ethnicity should be related to ‘the classification of people and group relationships’ and that it should refer to ‘aspects of relationships between groups which consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive’ (Eriksen 2010:5).

Distinguishing ‘ethnic’ from ‘racial’ groups, Eriksen pointed out that notions of ‘biological or genetic uniqueness’ (2010:9) which are essential for racial identification are ‘not a necessary component of ethnic identity’ (Ibid.). Instead, similar origins and ‘current commonalities at the level of culture and social integration’ are crucial elements for solidarity and collective ethnic identification (Ibid.). The culture of ethnic groups can be changed and assimilation can happen eventually (Ibid.). For example, after living in the host country several years, migrants may increase the frequency of using the dominant language, celebrate the same festivals, eat similar food to local people, and adopt local people’s customs and habits. Eriksen (2010:16) stressed that cultural differences between two groups are not the decisive features of ethnicity. He defined ethnicity as ‘an aspect of social relationship between persons who consider themselves as essentially distinctive from members of other groups of whom they are aware and with whom they enter into relationships’ (2010:16-7). Social relationships and people’s own perceptions are key points in his definition. This approach is applicable to my research. Chinese migrants

are the second largest migrant group in Northern Ireland, and whilst among the first generation and more elderly migrants there seems to be an obvious boundary between Chinese migrants and local society, in the younger generations, this boundary with local groups has become blurred and fluid. Young people are more integrated into local societal structures, particularly through education. The question I will address is how language becomes a marker of identification for both elder and younger generations.

Eriksen (2010:13) noted that anthropologists have largely abandoned the old standpoint of regarding 'societies' or 'cultures' as 'isolated, static and homogeneous units'. The social worlds they are analyzing now cover 'flux and process, ambiguity and complexity' (Ibid.). In this context, he argued that ethnicity 'suggests a dynamic situation of variable contact, conflict and competition, but also mutual accommodation between groups' (Ibid.). This dynamic perspective, emphasizing flexibility, ambiguity and change, is central in my own approach, as I intend to undermine static, a-historical notions of 'Chinese-ness' and 'the Chinese migrants'. The chapters that follow will demonstrate that ethnic identification is a contextual process whereby social relationships and boundaries are actively negotiated, and notions of 'otherness' are reinforced and challenged.

Abner Cohen (1969), of the Manchester school of British social anthropology, regarded ethnic groups as political organizations, arguing that ethnicity is an organizational form for a particular purpose. He believed that 'under certain structural circumstances, an ethnic group manipulates some values, norms, beliefs, symbols, and ceremonials from its traditional culture in order to develop an informal

political organization which it uses as a weapon in its struggle for power with other groups' (Cohen 1969: preface). Eriksen (2010:53) asserts that ethnic ideology 'offers answers to: the questions of origins, destiny and, ultimately, the meaning of life' but Cohen (1969: preface) notes that ethnicity must also have a practical and social function in order to thrive. This process may or may not be acknowledged by people who work and identify with these organizations themselves (Ibid.). For the purpose of my research, the distinction between ethnic organizations and individuals engaging with these organizations is important. It is essential to include an analytical perspective on migrants as individuals, as they cannot be reduced to membership of a particular community or organization.

Jamaican poet and social anthropologist Michael Garfield Smith (1965: vii) defined 'the plural society as a unit of disparate parts which owes its existence to external factors, and lacks a common social will'. In a typical plural society, he argued, fields of activity are ethnically discrete, whilst extensive contact and mutual influence is infrequent (Eriksen 2010:57). Smith's theory has, however, been criticised for considering 'ethnic groups as static' and 'cultures as fixed and closed systems' (Eriksen 2010:57).

Gerd Baumann's (1996) study of multi-ethnic Southall in London uses a 'constructivist view of culture' (Eriksen 2010: 67) which views Southall as a mosaic of separate communities, vying with each other for badly needed public resources' (1996:188). Baumann's 'mosaic' may be related to Smith's concept of plurality. Baumann (1996:189) asserts that social contention or cultural contestation represented 'the meanings and interrelations of culture and community'. These

contestations were focused on ‘reaffirming or redefining the meaning of community’ (Ibid.). Eriksen argued that in Baumann’s research, the focus on discourse and self-identifications disregarded the objective and implicit aspects of culture (2010:67). In Baumann’s (2001) later work, he moved to emphasize agency and flexibility in identification strategies. In my approach to Chinese migrants’ identification, I will also focus on flexibility and fluidity. In my research, I found that Chinese migrants in Northern Ireland were constantly interacting with local communities, especially through community agencies and organizations, and that these institutions appear and develop for various political and social reasons. Their ethnicity is not static; and it is a fluid and contextual concept. Eriksen and Smith’s (1969) conception of plurality and Baumann’s (1996) analogy of the mosaic need to be considered in the light of Eriksen’s (2010) focus on fluidity and contextuality, and Cohen’s (1969) emphasis on political and social function.

Ethnicity is just one kind of identification that intersects with other aspects of identity: class, gender and age, for example. Jenkins (1996:3) defined two meanings of identity: one is a concept of sameness; the other is a concept of distinctiveness that has consistency or continuity over time. Jenkins (Ibid.) argued that identity is both individual and collective, and it should be considered under a unified analytic framework. He suggests that discourses, religion and legal traditions reflect one’s identity. Besides those aspects, language choices and usage can also reflect people’s identity to some extent. I will discuss this aspect of language use further below in my examination of theories of linguistic anthropology. Language choice is influenced to a considerable extent by those to whom one is talking, and Chinese migrants in Belfast are part of networks that include both the local and the global.

1.2 The Transnational and the Diasporic

Transnationalism

There are various types of migration – permanent, temporary, circulatory, and sojourn have been identified (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992: viii). In order to survive, immigrants have to adapt to a new and different society; yet as human-beings, they experience emotions such as homesickness and loneliness. These emotions may grow stronger as time goes by, especially when people meet difficulties in a foreign country. At this time, they may need support from home: parents, friends and relatives who share similar values and culture. Such dynamics can encourage people from the same country to stay in one group, and when this group is large enough, to build their own institutions, for example, establishing their own school to teach their language. Furthermore, when a community becomes well established, they may seek to share their culture in order to secure recognition by the host society. Schiller *et al* (1992:ix) note that 'immigrants live their lives across borders and maintain their ties with home, even when their countries of origin and settlement are geographically distant'. Social scientists adopted the term 'transnational' to explore the formation of immigrant social networks in a globalizing world (Schiller *et al* 1992:ix). Migrants from different places were 'forging and sustaining multistranded social relations that linked their societies of origin and settlement. The term emphasized the emergence of a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders' (Schiller *et al* 1992:ix). Schiller argued that 'contemporary immigrants are 'transmigrants', meaning that they still keep multiple linkages to their homeland although they stay in a new country' (1995:48). She defined 'transmigrants' as:

> '. . . immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation- state' (1995: 48).

Chinese immigrant parents and their children are involved in transnational networks through, keeping in touch with family members and friends in China through various means including visiting their home town and relatives in their home country. Language learning for generations growing up in an English speaking country plays an important role in maintaining these networks.

Schiller *et al* (1992:x) state that 'the manner in which transmigrants conceptualize their experiences, including their collective identities, is very much shaped by both the political and economic context of the country of origin and the countries of settlement of the transmigrants'. This implies that to understand the lives of migrants, it is necessary to know political and economic backgrounds in countries of both origin and settlement. In Chapter 2, I will analyze push and pull factors relating to Northern Ireland and China, and will consider their economic and political impact of different backgrounds. For example, young people from Hong Kong originate from a Capitalist society whereas young people from mainland China originate from a Communist society. This difference can affect personal preferences and ideals.

The perspective of transnationalism is useful form of analysis of the ways my Chinese informants and friends kept in touch with their families in China by phones, internet, mail and periodic visits to China. Some scholars, however, have questioned whether the concept of the transnational is adequate to capture the reality of

migrants' lives, and have instead turned to the concept of 'diaspora'.

Diaspora

The concept of 'diaspora' has been widely adopted in migration literature. 'The idea of diaspora – as an unending sojourn across different lands – better captures the emerging reality of transnational networks and communities than the language of immigration and assimilation' (Lie 2004:304). According to Evans, Braziel and Mannur (2003:1) the word 'diaspora' is:

> etymologically derived from the Greek term *diasperien*…it can perhaps be seen as a naming of the other which has historically referred to displaced communities of people who have been dislocated from their native homeland through the movements of migration, immigration, or exile.

Scheffer (2006:121) challenged recent scholarship on transnationalism and transnational communities as misguided, asserting that it neglected to acknowledge the distinctions between the transnational and the diasporic, especially the qualities and characteristics that distinguish some ethnonational diasporas. Scheffer (2006:121) suggested that scholars should acknowledge every aspect of the behavior of certain communities such as 'Latino or Muslim transnational networks and communities and Jewish, Armenian, or Indian ethnonational diasporas'. He appealed to scholars to 're-examine and re-evaluate the past, present, and possible future situation of the entire dispersal phenomenon' (2006:122), and noted that the term 'ethnonational diasporas' (2006:123) would more adequately characterize a certain type of dispersal. Scheffer argued that migrants might not automatically organize as a

diaspora or create and support institutions that represent them culturally and politically even though they kept contact with their families in the homeland and participate in transnational social fields (2006:124). Scheffer (2006:125) argued, therefore, that 'most ethnonational diasporas cannot be viewed as simply a kind of transnational entity'. Rather, he claimed that the 'diaspora phenomenon should be separated from the general phenomenon of transnationalism and from discussions of that phenomenon' (2006:126) Sheffer (2003:13) asserts that 'diasporism' focuses on 'a discernible overarching phenomenon that really can be observed', adding that different kinds of ethno-national diasporas 'share characteristics that create distinctive structural, organizational, and behavioral similarities among them'. Within this work, I will follow Scheffer (2006:130) in his recommendation that, when discussing diasporas and transnational entities at the beginning of the twenty-first century, we should avoid generalizations and make distinctions between 'origins, identities and identification, boundaries, organization, and patterns of behavior of the various types of such entities' (2006: 130).

The term diaspora can also be used to explore the social and linguistic dynamics of Chinese migrants in Northern Ireland, who have created their own organizations and institutions, and organize various events and activities, such as Chinese New Year celebration and the Dragon Boat Festival. The establishment of the Chinese Language School showed that Chinese migrants expected younger generations to inherit the Chinese language, 'culture' and 'tradition'. I will use the term 'diaspora' critically and reflexively and emphasize 'historical and cultural specificity' (Braziel & Mannur 2003:3) of diaspora. My method is to acknowledge diversity and potential tensions within the Chinese diaspora, paying attention to my informants'

backgrounds, family and social status. There are many subgroups within the broad Chinese 'diaspora'. Within diasporic contexts, many questions arise concerning the ways that the next generation is raised. How will young people's memories of homeland operate? Will young people inherit their parents' tradition? In order to answer these questions, it is crucial to explore the way diasporic identities are expressed, practiced, lived and experienced (Braziel & Mannur 2003:8, 9).

Commenting on the study of the Jewish diaspora, Boyarin & Boyarin (2003:108) state: 'within the conditions of diaspora, many Jews discovered that their wellbeing was dependent on principles of respect for difference… cultures, as well as identities, are constantly being remade… Diasporic identity is a disaggregated identity.' Boyarin & Boyarin (2003:110) conclude that 'diaspora can teach us that it is possible for a people to maintain its distinctive culture, its difference, without controlling land…' The Jewish diaspora studied by Boyarin & Boyarin has preserved a distinctive identity over 2000 years, in contrast to the Chinese migrants I am studying, most of whom left their homeland no more than 40 years ago. As Radhakrishnan (2003:119) notes: 'Understandings of ethnicity are always context-specific.' In the context of recent diasporas, different generations may have different understandings of their ethnic and national backgrounds. Radhakrishnan (2003:119), writing of Indian migrants in the USA, observed that younger generations were less concerned about their Indian identity than their parents, and were sometimes confused and frustrated by their ethnic background. I encountered similar thoughts and feelings among younger members of the Chinese community in Northern Ireland, especially when they encountered issues such as racism.

Another useful approach to understanding the Chinese community in Northern Ireland is Scheffer's (2006:130) concept of 'ethnonational diasporism'. Scheffer defined an 'ethnonational diaspora' as 'a cultural-social-political formation of people who are united by the same ethnonational origin and reside permanently as minorities in one or more host-lands'. Members of such a formation keep their ethnonational identities; and 'such diasporas seek to create, maintain and promote communal solidarity' whilst 'The core and integrated members of such entities keep regular contacts with their homelands' (2006: 131). As will be shown in Chapter 4, such links are important to identification within the Chinese population that I study.

1.3 Communities and individual trajectories

Hamilton (1985:7) noted that 'the concept of community has been one of the most compelling and attractive themes in modern social science, and, at the same time, one of the most elusive to define'. Popular understandings of community may be equally vague. Migrants and local residents in host countries often start to claim a 'community' when their population reaches a level that they are able to found distinctive institutions. When I came to Belfast, the capital of Northern Ireland, I saw dispersed Chinese restaurants and shops here and there, but I did not see a street occupied mainly by Chinese people such as Soho's 'Chinatown' in London. To my mind, then, there was no Chinese community in Belfast. When I presented at a conference in London in 2015, some of the scholars present also denied that there was a Chinese community in Belfast. After years of living in Belfast, being involved with other Chinese migrants and volunteering in Chinese institutions, however, I understand that a Chinese 'community' does exist, even though it does not have a

clear geographical focus.

Amit & Rapport's (2002) book, *The Trouble with Community* explores the complexity of the concept in relation to migrants. In the first section of the book, Amit (2002:3) points out that anthropologists have tended to focus upon 'well entrenched institutions, predictable events and criteria of membership' instead of studying 'fragmentation, dislocation, destabilization or flux'. It is in these latter situations, Amit (2002:4-5) suggests, that people form 'a sense of contextual fellowship' and share something in common through daily consociation such as being colleagues, sports partners, neighbours or classmates. Because these forms of fellowship and consociation are temporal, partial and context-dependent, however, they are not marked as categorical identity (Amit 2002:5). My research informants are individuals who engage in social activities and form their own social networks: these networks are not static but are changing constantly. Amit (2002:59) observes that 'some of the relationships developed in one circumstance of consociation can extend into other spheres and even become divorced entirely from the original involvement in which they were formed'. She claims that some people would feel a 'community' was formed when people extended this association to a 'voluntary sociability (lunch conversations, socializing after work, gossip, etc.)' (Amit 2002:58). Amit (2002:59) argues that these forms of community were primarily conceptualized around things held in common by members, rather than 'oppositional categories between insiders and outsiders'. It is important, then, to look at individual experiences and personal social networks. This can be illustrated by an example from my fieldwork: one Chinese parent may work in a Chinese restaurant; go to a local leisure centre to exercise, and participate in parental networks in both the English

and Chinese schools that her children attend. When she changes her job, shifts her interest from sports to painting and her children enter middle school, her social networks change. Yet it is also possible that she may maintain friendships developed in previous social networks.

Rapport remarked that ‘individuals may never be cognitively imprisoned by seemingly pre-ordained and pre-determining schema of cultural classification and social structuration’ (2002: 97). Labels such as ‘Chinese parents’, or ‘Chinese descent’ are sometimes associated with a series of fixed identity markers: speaking Mandarin or Cantonese, knowing Chinese martial arts, art or behaving in certain ‘Chinese’ ways. There might be gaps between this social and cultural classification or expectation and reality, especially for Chinese people born in Northern Ireland, many of whom speak fluent English and know little of Mandarin or Cantonese and are perhaps more interested in western food, art and culture than their traditional Chinese counterparts. Even first generation migrants are not fully determined by their ‘Chineseness’: their experiences are never just framed by ‘being Chinese’, however defined. They are also daughters, sons, siblings, lovers, spouses, parents, workers, people engaged in politics, religion, popular culture, and so on. They are individuals with idiosyncratic life trajectories. Individuals’ may choose to attach and belong to one or more cultures rather than cultures deciding individuals’ membership and individuals also have ‘the right to resist and opt out of the norms and expectations of particular social and cultural groupings and chart their own course’ (Rapport 2002:108-109).

Many of the children from Chinese Language School in my research were born in Northern Ireland. They might have had little choice, at a young age, whether to learn the language or not, but that choice was still largely the responsibility of individual parents rather than the culture or community as a whole. When they grow older, these children will decide whether they want or need to engage with their Chinese background, and whether Chinese language ability is necessary or not. Similarly, parents also decide to what degree they maintain attachment to their home country, local community and what languages they use in their everyday life. In the second part of Amit & Rapport's book, Rapport (2002:111) stresses that 'attachment to a community should be seen to be a matter of individual choice not necessity or duty (an achievement not an ascription)'. Individuals have different and changing degrees of attachment to China, 'Chinese language', 'Chinese traditions', and the various Chinese diasporic institutions in Northern Ireland. The experiences and backgrounds of individuals differs significantly, affecting their choices as to whether they attach or detach from the above elements. First generation parents who have stronger attachment to their homeland and their mother tongue may have higher expectations and put more pressure on their children, whereas children born in Northern Ireland may have little attachment to China or its languages. These attachments are not static, children's attachment may increase with maturity or increase in intensity after a visit to grandparents in their parents' home country.

My research investigates 'Chinese identity through language learning' in the actual practices of individual teachers, parents and children. Rapport (2002:131) stated that 'what individuals know with most immediacy, clarity and certainty is what their senses inform them of, what they experience firsthand'. Since each individual has

different past experiences, these form different senses, ideologies, identities and language preferences. Even within one family, parents and children have different experience, language choices, and expectations. If we compare different families horizontally, parents with different past experiences may have different expectations of their children. For example, families with two parents of Chinese origin may be more likely to expect their children to learn Mandarin or Cantonese and be good at it, while mixed families may have lower expectations of language learning. Comparing vertically within a single family, children experience different environments while growing up. They might speak fluent Mandarin in their early family environment, but choose to speak more English when they start local school education. Individual differences can be affected by each person's experience.

In my research, I found that Chinese associations and institutions created an opportunity for both Chinese people and local people to meet and socialize, as a result of which, some of them developed friendships outside these institutions. These institutionalised migrant facilities, then, established forms of diasporic networks, and within these networks, people often claim 'Chinese identity' and produce notions of 'Chinese community': static labels which may be used for strategic purposes. Chinese Language Schools were one type of Chinese institution which provided Chinese migrant parents and children with social networks, whilst simultaneously feeding the notion that language learning is essential to 'Chinese identity'. Rapport noted that:

> Knowledge is individual and subjective, deriving from individuals' sensitive bodies, and the drive, the work and the habitude behind this are

> exemplifications of individual agency. This is especially important to recognize with regard to habit. Worldly orders which they find valuable or satisfying, individuals tend to maintain (2002: 133).

Rapport's focus on 'habit' resonates with Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) concept of 'habitus'. Bourdieu defined habitus as 'an internalized, embodied disposition toward the world' (Reed-Danahay 2005:46). Feng-Bing (2005:22) argues that people's lives are limited by their habitus and the objective conditions of social fields: they cannot live their lives according to freely made choices or strategies. Bourdieu argued that habitus can produce 'thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions' (Bourdieu 1995:95). So people's speech and behavior are largely a product of their habitus. Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus, cultural capital, and symbolic violence' are particular relevant to my research in regard to education. From early childhood, children are growing up in an environment created by family and society. Even without any formal education, they perceive certain ways of living and certain social values. Thus, children 'acquire the 'cultural capital' associated with their habitus' (Feng-Bing 2005:46). This habitus will guide and affect their lives. Moreover, in traditional societies, this 'inculcation' reproduces the habitus in each generation (Feng-Bing 2005:46). Bourdieu stated that the structures of the habitus produce 'the basis of perception and appreciation of all subsequent experience' (Bourdieu 1995:78). He used the theory of habitus to explain why there are conflicts between different generations. It is because the environments they confronted were very distant from one another (Bourdieu 1995:78). The second and third generation Chinese live in a more complex environment in Northern Ireland which may produce a more complex habitus. Their families, local schools, Chinese Language School and

wider society may hold different values, which can create an environment of dilemmas for children. Children of the diaspora have to deal with such dilemmas and develop a habitus which enables them to switch roles and identities when necessary. This form of habitus could be related to Bourdieu's (1999:511) concept, of a 'divided habitus' prone to 'successive allegiances and multiple identities'. Bourdieu developed his concept in relation to those who had been upwardly mobile in terms of social class, and saw a divided habitus as inherently problematic, but Chinese parents may deliberately attempt to develop such a habitus in their children, precisely because they hope it will enable upward mobility. One of my informants was a Canadian-Chinese mother. She had two sons and she made a great effort regarding her sons' education. While they were in Canada, she talked Chinese to her children at home to ensure they learned the Chinese language. When they lived in China for several years, she started to talk to them in English so that they would maintain their familiarity with the language. In this case, this parent deliberately created a bilingual family environment with the purpose of helping her children develop a bilingual habitus.

Bourdieu (1977:80) makes the point that when something is deeply ingrained in our habitus, it is understood and acted upon 'automatically'. Celebrating the Chinese New Year is something that feels natural to Chinese parents in Belfast, even though they are away from their home country, and Chinese New Year is not a national holiday in Northern Ireland. If they did not maintain certain customs and rituals to celebrate Chinese New Year, they might feel empty, regretful or guilty. Simultaneously, Chinese people in China are celebrating Chinese New Year as well, and for children growing up in this environment, and learning these habits, and the

meanings and values implicit in them, from their family, it soon comes to feel natural to do the work in preparation and join in the celebrations every year. Chinese children born in Northern Ireland, in contrast, are not surrounded by an environment in which these habits, meanings and values are accepted as natural. Even though their parents may try to teach them the meaning of Chinese New Year, they do not do so within a supportive wider environment. Rather, children are learning the habits and meanings of celebrations such as Christmas and Easter from their school-teachers, classmates and local friends, and celebrating Chinese New Year does not feel 'natural' to them, and like the Chinese language, may not even be seen as valuable. For parents, a strong motivation in sending their children to a Chinese Language School is the role the school plays in providing an environment in which not only Chinese language, but also Chinese cultural meanings, can flourish.

Rapport remarks that the behaviour of individuals can be affected, although not determined, by the decisions of others of whom they take notice (2002:134). An outsider might have the impression that the Chinese community built up this language institution and that they all send their children to Sunday language-school to maintain their heritage. Such impressions tend to fit popular stereotypes of Chinese migrants such as that of the 'tiger mother' (see Chua 2011). In reality, parents sending their children to Chinese Language School have their own purposes and aims. Whilst young children are sent to the school by their parents and may have little say in whether they attend, they have their own thoughts and feelings about the experience, the children are my research subjects too, and their perceptions and understandings need to be considered.

1.4 Multiculturalism, Assimilation and Integration: Experiences of Home

As the period of diaspora grows longer, the population of immigrants' offspring has become larger and as they grow older, they develop their own thoughts, perceptions and identifications which may be similar or significantly different from those of previous generations. On the one hand, they differ from other local families, in that they are growing up in a unique family environment with a particular immigration history; on the other hand, these new generations of immigrants have been affected in different ways to their parents by the characteristics of modern society, such as multiculturalism and globalization. The impact of new generations cannot be underestimated in the future, and the study of these second and third generations of migrants has aroused interests of researchers. Dhooleka S. Raj (2003) explored ethnic minority cultural change among first and second generation middle-class South Asian families living in London, finding that transnational ethnic minorities were circumscribed by nostalgia for traditional culture.

Modood and Werbner (1997) analysed multiculturalisms in Europe. They stated that 'multiculturalism has been theorized as a paternalistic, top-down solution to the "problem" of minorities, a dangerous reification of "culture", or a new way forward to a politics of 'recognition' and 'authenticity'' (1997: vii). They argued that multiculturalism is 'the political outcome of ongoing power struggles and collective negotiations of cultural, ethnic and racial differences' (1997: vii). From the late 1940s to the 1970s, migrants with different backgrounds, with or without skills, usually from former colonies, moved to Europe because of the shortage of labour there. The multicultural environment their presence created was different from more

homogeneous lifestyles or cultural environments that had previously existed in Europe. Other studies by Svasek (2010) and Wise (2010) stressed emotions, senses and sensibility of migration. This phenomenon does not only exist in certain minority groups. Similarly, ethnic minorities such as Chinese migrants in Northern Ireland helped to create a multicultural society there. On the one hand, migrants tried to adapt to local society, and on the other hand, they continued their own ways of thought, emotion and custom.

Inter-generational dynamics

Ong stressed the 'horizontal and vertical economic, social, and cultural practices that span space, the power hierarchies and citizenship regimes in which they are embedded, and the ways in which these practices are enabled and regulated by the changing relationship between states and capitalism' (Levitt 2002:8). In many traditional Chinese families, power and hierarchies still play important roles, particularly in the relationships between parents and children. Generally, parents are in control of their young children, although the precise nature of these relationships is conditioned by parents' backgrounds and approaches to education, and by the personalities of both parents and children. Through young people's language learning, we can see the extent of parents' control and the extent to which young children develop independence.

In her study of migrants in Boston, USA, Levitt (2002:15) uses the term, 'straight-line' assimilation to explain 'the experiences of white ethnic groups of European origin'. The second generation of these groups learn their parents' culture at home, while they learn the culture of the host society at school, through peer groups and

through the mass media. Encountering ‘native’ culture and realizing that it is more highly valued than immigrant culture, they begin to perceive their parents’ culture as ethnic or foreign, and therefore of lesser value, and they became rebellious. I observed similar inter-generational dynamics during my fieldwork in Belfast. Generation has been a common framework within which to assess the assimilation of different ethnic groups (2002:15). Considering historical migration to the USA, researchers have found that second generation ethnic people may even do better than native people in language skills, general cultural knowledge and so on, whilst it has been argued that the second generation of more recent migrant groups such as Mexicans has been less successful. Perlmann & Waldinger (1997, 2002:16) discuss this phenomenon of ‘second generation decline’, arguing that it is still too early to conclude that the second generation today will not follow a similar pattern to earlier immigrants.

Different generations may also have different feelings and degrees of belonging towards ‘home’. Rapport & Dawson (1998) investigated the ambiguities and fluidities of identities and conceptions of ‘home’ amongst migrants in modern globalized society. They declared that physical or cognitive identity has fluidities and movement across time and space. It is in this conceptualized ‘home’ where we search for identity of individuals and groups in movement (Rapport & Dawson 1998:4). Rapport & Dawson stressed the importance of movement for modern identity. The experience of ‘non-place beyond “territory” and “society”’ has become ‘an essential component of everyday existence’ (Rapport & Dawson 1998:6). Through ‘narratives’ of different kinds of home: ‘orderly spoken scenarios, official communiqués, habitual social exchanges, routine behavioural practices’, individuals expressed their idea and

cognition of ‘home’ (1998:7-8). This conceptual ‘home’ contains a cognitive environment within which daily life routine continues and identity is constantly mediated (1998:10). It is individuals’ minds which determine the ‘disorder’ and ‘order’ (1998:21). These individuals are not static, they are always moving in or between homes across time and space. One’s home can be seen as movement and vice versa (1998:27):

> It is in and through the continuity of movement that human beings continue to make themselves at home; seeing themselves continually in stories, and continually telling the stories of their lives, people recount their lives to themselves and others as movement (Rapport & Dawson 1998:33).

Rapport & Dawson’s (1998) theory of home and identity as movement and fluidity is useful in exploring the lives of Chinese migrants in Belfast. I will investigate individuals’ life stories and explore generational differences in understandings of ‘home’, identity and belongings.

Other concepts including ‘melting-pot, integration, assimilation, syncretism, reinterpretation, pluralism, diffusion, cultural exchange, and acculturation came into technical and popular usage from the first part of this century’ (Lambros Comitas 1992: vii). The terms ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ are those I found most relevant to my research. Depending on the age of Chinese immigrants and other factors such as how long they have been living here, the degree of assimilation and integration varies. Chinese children born in Belfast are more likely to be in a situation of

assimilation, yet many Chinese parents are uncomfortable with this and seek to maintain their own culture and language. Integration is a more positive term. It may be used to describe those Chinese people who expand their social circles beyond the Chinese community, and actively interact with other local communities. Younger Chinese people who have lived in Northern Ireland for a long time are usually well integrated with local society.

Schiller and her colleagues studied migrants from Haiti in New York, who attended certain welfare activities to keep in touch with their hometown. The research showed the transmigrants both accommodate to and resist the difficult circumstances and the dominant ideologies they encounter in their transnational fields (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992:4). Through observing Chinese young people's language use and their behavior in the class, the extent of accommodation or resistance to local culture is evident. The examples will be analyzed in the chapter 'Classroom dynamics'.

While some Chinese children are more assimilated, there are some young people who do not become fully assimilated with the dominant society, but maintain closer affiliations with their Chinese family, friends and the Chinese community. Charles (1992) drew upon Bourdieu's theory to analyze the 'effectiveness of Hong Kong emigrants in their overseas ventures' in California. Charles (1992:127) argues that success is conditional upon acquisition of appropriate 'symbolic capital'. Charles shows that through their investments, Hong Kong migrants have become rich and have purchased large houses in the Bay area, but at the same time, they are struggling with racism and they want their social status to be acknowledged. Racism and

acknowledgment from local society can also be issues in Belfast. One of my informants had brought her son to Northern Ireland two months before I spoke to her. Her son was subjected to low-level bullying in a local school, which depressed him, and he wanted to change school. The reason for the bullying was unclear, but his mother suspected that it was due to racism or just because he was a new student and could not speak much English. She was considering sending him to the Chinese Language School in the hope that he would meet and befriend other Chinese children thus reducing culture-shock. Assimilation or integration, then, is not purely a choice made by migrants, but is also dependent upon recognition and acceptance by the host community.

The extent to which migrants adapt to their new social environment may vary according to generation or age cohort. Schiller (1995:52) observed that it was chiefly older cohort of first-generation migrants who were most concerned with maintaining ties to their home country, whilst younger generations were more interested in relationships within their new home. Such differences could cause inter-generational tension or conflict.

From my experience in China and my observations of Chinese families in Northern Ireland which will be discussed in Chapters Five and Seven, different Chinese families have different understandings of how to educate the next generation. Yeoh (2005) observes that in many Asian countries, families are based on hierarchical or patriarchal systems. Individual desires are not seen as important, and individuals are expected to act for the common good or ‘greater good’ of the family (Yeoh 2005:309). In my experience, this traditional patriarchal structure has been attenuated

over recent decades by China's 'one-child policy'. The result of this policy has been to increase the value of each child to families. It has been suggested that this has resulted in the status of only children increasing to the point that rather than being subjected to traditional discipline, they are indulged and treated as 'little emperors' or 'little princesses' (Blayne 1988; Fong 2004). Other popular phrases I have encountered for only children are 'the apple of parents' eyes' and 'a pearl in the palm'. So whilst patriarchal ideology still exists in China, in practice, children's wishes can carry considerable weight. It is unsurprising, then, that considerable diversity in child-rearing practices also exists in diaspora.

Challenges of Diaspora

Scheffer (2006:133) summarized five challenges that diasporas and transnational networks face: Identity formation; dealing with actual and virtual boundaries; determining the location of and defining the relations with the homeland or center of diasporas and transnational networks; loyalty and determining strategic and tactical policies and activities. In what follows, I shall indicate the significance of each of these challenges to my research group.

Scheffer (2006:133) noted that:

> Peripheral members of the entities which are people who have integrated into their hostland's society, politics, and economy, they share and maintain their diasporic ethnonational identity. However, because of opposition to diasporas engendered by hostile cultural, social, political, and economic surrounding environments in hostlands, some peripheral diasporans refrain from public identification with the entire entity.

Scheffer (2006:133) argues that 'the most significant challenge for dispersed entities is experienced especially by members of transnational networks'. The people who belong to such entities have the capacity to change fundamentally the 'basic ideological, cultural, and religious beliefs which are the main basis for the existence of ethnonational diasporas. This capability can result in total assimilation or to full integration into their countries of residence' (Scheffer 2006: 133). With regard to diasporans, Scheffer (2006:133) asserts that 'cognitive and emotional confusion and uncertainty about fundamental identity prompts severe emotional and cognitive doubts about the needs and benefits which can be gained from identifying as members of such entities' (2006:133). Such doubts are the primary challenge for leaders who wish to maintain such entities (Scheffer 2006:133).

Throughout this work, and particularly in Chapters Four and Seven, I explore the identity and identification of second-generation immigrants, intergenerational relations within the Chinese community and transitions between different identities. Different 'entities', whether families, schools or children's social networks, have different needs and rules. Children of immigrants who were born or grew up in a western cultural environment are little different in many ways from other children in local schools and their circle of local friends. While at home, however, their parents consciously or unconsciously create a 'Chinese' environment. It may be hard for children to identify themselves as simply 'Chinese' or 'Northern Irish'. Rather, they have to move and between these different roles, involving an element of transformation.

Scheffer (2006:35) argues that once the identities of core members of ethnonational diasporas are well established, the boundaries of their collective entities will be clearer. 'If people wish to form and maintain a transnational organized collective, which is not based on ethnonational factors, they must define and draw more clearly the boundaries of their network, which are almost nonexistent' (2006:135). However, entities that have strongly defined boundaries may be hard to penetrate, thus causing them to shrink or even disappear (2006:135). Scheffer (2006:136) asserts that 'at the beginning of the twenty-first century, preserving existing ethnonational diasporas became a main challenge for leaders and members, because the boundaries of these entities became less defined'. In the Northern Irish context, boundaries are complicated by the diversity of Chinese migrants. Migrants have come from different parts of mainland China, from Hong Kong and from Taiwan. My research informants include Chinese immigrant parents and their children. Some immigrants had higher-level education, others are working class people. They also speak different dialects, which has important implications for my study of language-learning. Boundaries within the Chinese community as well as between Chinese migrants and local Northern Irish communities then, must be negotiated: solid boundaries may make communication difficult, yet blurred boundaries may result in assimilation and loss of identity.

Scheffer noted that 'when there is no agreement about the location and legitimacy of a center, these groups experience severe organizational deficits, but it can be prevented if such centers are recognized and contacts with them maintained' (2006:137). In my research, the homeland and family or friends back home can be seen as an 'identity resource'. Immigrants and their children keep visiting the

homeland and maintaining contacts with people back in China which may be seen as enhancing their awareness of their Chinese identity.

Scheffer (2006:139) argued that ‘members of diasporas must decide whether or the extent to which they owe loyalty either to the ethnonational center or to their homeland, or to their hostland’. In my research, I found that loyalty also exists at different levels, and this may cause potential conflict. To whom should the children of immigrants be relatively more loyal: their family; school friends, Chinese Language School friends, or even relatives in China? These loyalties may change as children grow. Before they reach adolescence, children usually listen to their parents. When they are teenagers or reach a rebellious period, loyalty to friends rises in importance.

1.5 Identification through linguistic ideology and practice

Linguistic Anthropology

Dell Hymes (1964: xxi) noted that human’s speech was a fundamental activity, and language was an integral part of one’s culture, thus it could not be ignored in most areas of anthropology. In his ‘general introduction’, Hymes discussed the relationship between linguistics and anthropology. He suggested that anthropology could contribute data and theory that linguistics might not emphasize or be aware of (1964: xxii). Hymes (1964: xxiii) argued that both disciplines should coordinate knowledge about language from their own points of view. He defined linguistic anthropology as ‘the study of language within the context of anthropology’ (1964: xxiii).

Hymes (1964: xxvi) sets out three distinctions: those between ‘language and speech; code and message; and habit and behavior’. These distinctions, especially the latter two, are also important to my analysis. Chinese young people engage in code-switching and convey certain messages through their speech. Some of their language behavior can be temporary, while other aspects become habitual. For example, during the Chinese class, after the teachers told them they had to speak Chinese in the class, they spoke to each other or to the teacher in Chinese. That was a short-term behavior, however. Their habit was to converse with each other in English.

In the introduction of *Language in Culture and Society*, Hymes (1964:4) introduced the history and development of theories of linguistic anthropology, noting that in British anthropology, it was Malinowski who first focused on language issues. Malinowski called for an ethnolinguistic theory which could guide linguistic research in ethnographic study (Hymes 1964:4). Hymes (1964:4) pointed out that Malinowski was weak in descriptive linguistics, and later scholars were not satisfied with his specific accounts, in part due to his inadequate research techniques. Nevertheless, Hymes (1964:4) approved of Malinowski’s general orientation, in that he encouraged British anthropologists to use native languages during fieldwork and helped develop descriptive linguistics. Since I am fluent in both Mandarin and English, I was able to follow Malinowski’s injunction and communicate with my informants in whatever language they were most comfortable with.

Hymes (1964:5) indicated that from the British viewpoint, language was mainly seen as an activity. Its engagement in social context was part of its description. The function of language usage in controlling or influencing action was a central focus.

Language use can also be seen as a conscious or unconscious expression of personal preference or identity, however. For example, some Chinese students at Queen's University were surprised when they heard some local Chinese spoke English with an authentic Belfast accent. The students had expected Belfast Chinese people to be like them, but once they heard that accent, they felt distance rather than closeness.

Hymes (1964) then introduced linkages between anthropology and linguistics in France and the USA, discussing four eminent French scholars: de Saussure, Meillet, Durkheim and Mauss. These scholars considered language mainly as a shared, socially inherited system. Language usage in communication served a cognitive function of distinguishing or expressing meaning (Hymes 1964:5). In the United States, linguistic studies initially focused on American Indian languages, with the aim of classification (Hymes 1964:6). American work, according to Hymes (1964:7), shared much with the French school which saw 'the unity of language and culture as one of cultural product or social heritage rather than as one of event or social action'. In this work, I will consider both these roles of language. On the one hand, language is a cultural product which young people inherit from the older generation and will pass on to the next generation. On the other hand, language is a tool for social interaction and communication.

Hymes (1974) noted that the concept of a 'speech community' described a social entity rather than a linguistic entity. Linguistic features alone could not define the boundaries between communities in terms of linguistics and communication (Hymes 1974:47). Hymes (1974:51) defined a 'speech community as a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech. Such sharing

comprises knowledge of at least one form of speech, and knowledge also of its patterns of use' (Hymes 1974:51) I see the students from the Chinese Language School (CLS) as belonging to one particular speech community within the wider Chinese community. They share certain speech habits. When they are speaking English with each other, there are no obvious differences from the speech of other local students, and most of the time, they speak in English automatically. They only speak Chinese when they are learning Chinese in the school and are required so to do, or when they are talking to someone who does not understand English, including their parents.

Linguistics Analysis

There is a literature on linguistic aspects of diasporic and transnational belongings which is also relevant to my study. Chinese scholar Wei Li (1994:2) stressed that people's background can affect their actions including their linguistic behaviour but also, that choice of language, whether English, Mandarin or Cantonese, is 'an 'act of identity' for individual speakers . Bell (1994:10) argues that language variability is a matter of audience design which means that 'people are responding primarily to other people'. Taking up Bell's argument, 'the other people', in the context of my research, means those with whom young Chinese students are talking. Milroy (1994:30) has pointed out that: 'membership of a group labelled 'lower-middle class' does not necessarily form an important part of a person's definition of his social identity'. Similarly, membership of the CLS may not be seen by students as an important element of their social identity, but it may have a significant impact upon the networks they form, nevertheless. Li Wei (1994:3) in his research, tried to 'expand upon the social network approach in dialectical contact situations and link

micro-interactional behaviours of the speaker with macro-societal structures and social relations' (1994:3). Li Wei (1994:35) maintained that in social networks, 'speakers in interaction utilise the resources of linguistic variability available to them and exercise influence and control over others as well as their own language behaviour'. Social network theory, he suggests, 'offers a framework within which the two dimensions of linguistic variation can be systematically investigated and interpreted, thus being capable of building a coherent model of bilingual language choice which accounts for both interactional behaviours of individual speakers and broader questions of social relations and social organisation' (Li Wei 1994:33). The social network approach is comprehensive and it is suitable for my research too, since it not only considers people who are using the language, but also the people around them and the broader environment and society.

Li Wei (1994) divided the major groups of ethnic Chinese living in the UK into three categories according to their social background: emigrants from Hong Kong (80%), educational transients and urban professionals. People from different areas of China spoke different Fang Yan (dialects). Li Wei (1994:40) notes that 'unintelligibility is often regarded by the Chinese as a social group boundary marker distinguishing people of different origins.' I will draw upon the idea of language usage as a social group boundary marker in my analysis. Most of the Chinese parental generation in Belfast did not have access to higher education. As a result, most had little ability to speak or understand English or even the official Chinese language – Mandarin. Rather they spoke their own regional Chinese dialects. Many of this generation seemed to show more respect to Chinese people from a similar age group who could speak English well, because this indicated that they had probably received a higher

level of education than themselves. As a result, a social boundary could be observed between people who could speak English well and those who could not.

Another linguistic scholar whose research is relevant to this work is Hua Zhu (2008). Zhu (2008:1799-1800) investigated 'bilingual intergenerational conflict talk in diasporic families' concentrating on the 'socio-cultural motivations behind the talk'. She asserts that 'The key feature of conflict talk is the difference in viewpoints and opinions among the participants' (Zhu 2008:1800). 'In intergenerational talk, speakers of different life experiences tend to hold different views on issues of mutual concern' (Zhu 2008:1800). In my research, I found that the life experiences of second generation Chinese and their parents were very different, and that this could lead to conflict talk. Zhu (2008:1800-1801) used the concept of 'codeswitching' to describe the phenomenon of 'the alternation of languages in the same interactional episode', noting that the direction of codeswitching was unpredictable, acting as a signal to 'indicate whether the speaker intended to converge or diverge from the previous speaker's code choice and thus served as a device to dominate the interaction'. In Chinese Language School, many students are bilingual or multilingual. I observed young students' language choices and usage and the ways they used code-switching with each other and with the teacher. I will examine this topic using detailed examples in Chapter Six: 'Classroom context and analysis'.

Zhu Hua (2008:1804) pointed out that Chinese communities, like other diasporic communities in the UK, 'face the sociolinguistic dilemma of maintaining their ethnic languages on the one hand and developing proficiency in English on the other'. Research showed that there was a 'three generational language shift' (Hua

2008:1804). The Grandparental generation used one language - Chinese; the parental generation mainly used Chinese but could speak some English, whilst the British-born generation used English primarily. This could bring inconvenience or difficulties in communication or even result in misunderstanding and conflicts between different generations. The avoidance of such conflict could be one motivation for sending children to learn more of the Chinese language.

Hua's study provided examples of Chinese migrants' children using linguistic resources such as code-switching to challenge their parents' positions and authority in the family (2008: 1811). Hua (Ibid.) asserts that 'social, cultural and linguistic practice is an important source of information regarding the changing family values in diaspora and minority ethnic communities.' When such topics arise in conversation, and when code-switching is used, this offers an opportunity to explore their 'socio-cultural roles, positions, and expectations' (Ibid.). I draw on Hua's approach in paying particular attention to the time and place of children's code-switching, a practice which I suggest can be understood as an identity claim.

1. 6 Studies in Chinese migration

In this section, I will first consider Benton & Pieke's (1998) study of Chinese migration to Europe, before moving on to look at research focused specifically upon the United Kingdom, and then on the autonomous region of Northern Ireland.

Benton & Pieke (1998: vii-4) noted that the Chinese are one of the oldest immigrant communities in Europe, having lived in several European countries throughout most of the twentieth century. Since the 1970s, the population of Chinese immigrants in

Europe has risen remarkably and they have become the largest and most economically powerful ethnic minority group in several countries. According to Benton & Pieke (1998: vii-4), there were two distinct periods of Chinese migration to Europe. Before the Second World War, most Chinese came to Europe as temporary contract labourers. Chinese communities, mostly with origins in Canton and Zhejiang, emerged in Western Europe in the 1920s. Migration was then interrupted by the Great Depression and the Second World War, but following the War, the number of Chinese migrants grew considerably. Kinship chain migration was the mechanism through which most Chinese migrants arrived in Europe: those who came first then introduced family members and friends who followed them and usually stayed with them initially. Migration flows were sometimes affected by political factors (Benton & Pieke 1998:4). Chinese migration to Northern Ireland followed the broad parameters sketched out by Benton & Pieke (1998) across Europe, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, 'Chinese Migration in Northern Ireland'.

Benton & Pieke (1998:7) identify five major groups of Chinese migrants in Europe. The first group consisted of small traders from two adjacent areas in southern Zhejiang. The second group were Cantonese from the Pearl River Delta who came to the major ports in North- western Europe, including London and Liverpool. The third group were Chinese from Indochina and other former European colonies such as Singapore and Malaysia. The fourth group includes Chinese immigrants from northern Fujian province, who appeared in Europe in the second half of the 1980s. The last group have diverse backgrounds, they are well-educated city dwellers from northern China who started to arrive after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The number of overseas Chinese is hard to estimate for

many reasons, but Benton & Pieke (1998:9) conclude that ‘Europe’s Chinese population is roughly one third of that of the Americas… Europe emerges as the continent with fastest growing Chinese population in the 1960s and 1970s’.

Benton and Pieke explored areas of identity formation and the establishment of associations (1998:9). They also pointed out that whilst the Chinese may have appeared to be a homogeneous integrated group to outsiders, in fact they were divided by very different backgrounds, including different places of birth, ages, dialects and social positions. This could sometimes lead to misunderstandings or conflicts between different groups of Chinese migrants.

Moving on to consider scholarship on Chinese migration to the UK, Watson (1977:181), states that ‘The Chinese are undoubtedly the least understood of all Britain’s immigrant minorities’. Watson notes that Chinese people have a relatively long history of migration and ‘modernity has a genealogy in China that in part predates the Western incursions of the 19th and 20th centuries’ (1999:1). Pieke & Mallee (1999:1, 2) summarized three characteristics of Chinese migration . Firstly, Chinese migration has often brought challenges to the authorities of the receiving countries; secondly, strict controls on emigration have existed from the Maoist period; and thirdly, family and kinship strongly affect Chinese perceptions of migration. In Belfast, I found that the strength of kinship relationships affected both behaviours and values amongst the Chinese community. Pieke & Mallee (1999) adopt an anthropological approach to migration, introducing the concept of the ‘migration system’. ‘Migration systems or configurations are not of one type, they cover a broad range of phenomena that have little in common but the largely

contingent fact of spatial mobility of some of the people involved' (Pieke & Mallee 1999:13). Pieke & Mallee (1999:16-22) suggested that we need a typology of migration configurations. Each configuration produces different types of ethnicity, employment, entrepreneurship, effects on home communities, migration culture, and cultural meaning of migration. In regard to the latter, for example, Xin Liu (1999:16) points out that Chinese people see migration as a sign of success, and those who stay behind may be seen as poor and backward. Pieke & Mallee (1999:16-22) note that the Chinese state's problem with migrants can be traced back to the inability of China's bureaucratized system of administration and control to keep up with the changes wrought by its own reforms (1999: 16-22). I will illustrate such dynamics with concrete examples from my fieldwork in China in the final chapter.

Parker (1998: 75) also explored the history and origins of Chinese migrants in Britain, pointing out that many Chinese people came to Britain from Hong Kong after 1949. Their business was mainly within the catering industry, and was family-owned. Parker (1998: 80) identified some problems existing among Chinese migrants and their children, with regard to communication and language. 'The second and third generations face conflicting alternatives' (Parker 1998: 80). Many of them could not find employment, so the only way for them to survive was to go back to work in the catering industry. He argued that the 'presence of Chinese-language supplementary schools is one of the indications that Chinese population is committed to staying in Britain' (1998: 82). Nevertheless, there are also signs that younger generations may tend to move back to Hong Kong, which they may find 'more attractive from an economic point of view than a sluggish and potentially racist Britain' (1998: 89). Economic factors as well as racism can impact students'

eagerness to learn Chinese, especially amongst second generation adults. Many may only become aware of such issues in adulthood, and may thus return to learning Chinese with a motivation and enthusiasm that they did not have as children.

Chinese migrants in Northern Ireland

Whilst there is a significant academic literature regarding Chinese migration in both English and Chinese languages, most of these studies have focused on large cities such as London or New York. There is comparatively little scholarship on the Chinese community in Northern Ireland. Feng-Bing (2005) divided Chinese secondary school children living in Northern Ireland into two sub-groups: one of Hong Kong origin and the other from mainland China. Her purpose was to investigate these 'Chinese' children's ethnic experience and how they understood their own identity (Feng-Bing 2005:1).

Lai Chun Pang (1996)'s sociological study used questionnaires and structured interviews to analyse family structure, patterns of education, gender, class and occupational trends among Belfast's Chinese population (1996: iv). The research provides rich information on historical backgrounds and future trends. Some more anthropological methods were used during the research, but only as complementary ways of 'gathering the opinions of a group of people' (1996: 33).

Watson & McKnight (1998) introduced many aspects of the Chinese community and Chinese people's lives in Northern Ireland which are relevant to my research, including cultural tradition and the education of young people. They discussed race and ethnicity and examined discrimination problems faced by Chinese people. This

study will seek to make a significant addition to the literature regarding Chinese migrants in Northern Ireland.

Conclusion

Concepts of ethnicity, diaspora, community and individuality constitute the theoretical framework of this work. The definition of ethnicity proposed by Eriksen (2010) stressed social relationship and interaction. It is not a static and narrow concept. Eriksen defined ethnicity as a social identity formed through gains and losses in the process of interaction. The concept, therefore, has political, organisational and symbolic aspects (2010: 17). Eriksen paid attention to the application of the concept to different societies and individuals, in different situations and social contexts. I will do the same in this work. For example, in mainland China, there are fifty-five ethnic minority groups (sometimes described as ‘nationalities’) and one majority group: the Han people. In Northern Ireland, the ‘nationality’ and region of China from which Chinese migrants originate is often connected with the language spoken in that area to define major aspects of their identity. Mandarin speakers, for instance, may be associated with northern China and Cantonese or Hakka speakers with southern China. These are aspects of ethnicity that are fluid. Eriksen lists the context of ‘Modern migrants’ as one of five areas in which anthropologists have focused upon ethnic relations. Eriksen (2010:18) noted that the research on immigrants had focused on adaptation problems, identity management and cultural change: issues which are also explored in my research.

Since Chinese migrants in Belfast maintain networks to their home country, the concept of transnationalism can be useful in analysis, and since they have also

founded their own organisations and institutions after dwelling in the host country for a period of time, the concept of diaspora is also applicable. Chinese migrants have engaged in organisational activities that link individuals as a group to Northern Ireland and the homeland, for example the Chinese Language School; Chinese Welfare Association and Chinese Lion Dance Association. These organisations have a certain politics and Chinese migrants can obtain help from them ranging from interpretation in Belfast to assistance in travelling back to China.

It is also common to hear both members of the Chinese diaspora and other local people using the term ‘Chinese community’, particularly since the increase in the migrant population in Belfast and the founding of various organisations and institutions. In my approach to community, I follow Amit and Rapport (2002), who assert that community is a problematic term, and that community should not be viewed as fixed or static, but rather, that the individuals who constitute the ‘community’ should be the focus. Individuals are active in various social contexts and they have different social networks. Chinese migrants do not only belong to the Chinese community and are not restricted to interacting only with other Chinese people. Moreover, individuals may have come from different countries and have different origins or ethnicities; they can be part of families; teachers in the Chinese Language School or members of local societies or clubs: different identities are constantly being formed and lost. Even national identity may be fluid, for example, understandings of China or Malaysia as the basis for an overall political identity can change during an individual’s life trajectory. Individuals may support the state politics and national ideologies of the groups from which they originate and express a sense of loyalty to their nations, but in time they might choose to give up their

original passports and become British or Irish citizens.

Nevertheless, certain identity formations may seem more ‘natural’ to them than others, and this process is always contextual. All these different aspects of identities: ethnicity, diaspora, nation and race can be highlighted in certain contexts. In the following chapters, I will illustrate in details how these theories help to answer my central research question: how do practices of Mandarin and Cantonese language learning amongst children of Chinese origin in Belfast reflect, inform or undermine specific discourses and performances of identity and belonging?

Chapter 2: Northern Ireland Context

2.1 Historical and social background of Northern Ireland

The first part of this chapter introduces the historical and social background to the research in Northern Ireland, including the period of political instability known as 'the troubles'; the history of immigration to Northern Ireland by ethnic minorities; the development of a multicultural society in Northern Ireland and the present social and economic situation. The second section of the chapter focuses on Chinese migrants in Northern Ireland, describing their origins and the history of Chinese migration to Northern Ireland; the development of the 'Chinese community' in Northern Ireland; the current situation of Chinese migrants in the province and an analysis of push and pull factors contributing to Chinese immigration in the Northern Irish context.

Compared to other major cities in the UK such as London, the much smaller cities in Northern Ireland have some elements that can attract overseas students, tourists and immigrants: for example lower costs of living, studying and doing business; less business competition, and a unique combination of Irish and British culture. From the late 1960s until the 1990s however, the period of violent conflict known as 'the troubles' gave most foreigners the impression that Northern Ireland provided an unstable and insecure social environment, and until the late 1990s, this discouraged many from migrating to Northern Ireland. The Protestant/Unionist and Catholic/Nationalist brand of Ulster politics originated from the English and Scottish settlement in the province at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Because of the religious difference in Ulster, the two peoples lived separately and did not integrate.

In the past three hundred years, there were periodic conflicts which Magee (1974: 2) describes as a ‘terrible cycle of communal warfare’. Catholics tried to expel the Protestants in 1641, but were ultimately defeated, losing most of their lands (Magee 1974: 2). Throughout these centuries of conflict, Ulster Protestants felt their existence and property were threatened by Catholics whilst, in Ulster, ‘Catholics were excluded from respectable society’ (Magee 1974: 2). The Government of Ireland Act, 1920, made provision for a northern parliament to legislate for the six counties of Antrim, Down, Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh and Londonderry where Protestants constituted the majority. The state of Northern Ireland was founded in 1921 (Magee 1974: 2). In most parts of the province, Catholics and Protestants did not associate with each other. The segregation is most obvious in urban areas within which Protestants and Catholics tend to live in separate districts. The period of ‘the troubles’ was from 1963 to GFA 1998. During the long tenure of Viscount Brookeborough as prime minister of Northern Ireland from 1943-1963, he made the Ulster Unionist party politically dominant and the Catholic minority became marginalized. Police harassment and discrimination became part of people’s daily life (Bardon 1992). ‘The worst periods of ethnic violence in Northern Ireland – in the early 1920s and from 1968 -1994 – have focused on Belfast’ (Doherty and Poole 1997: 522). During the latter period, fatal incidents reached a rate of 2.95 per 1,000 people (Doherty and Poole 1995: 31). No large groups of migrants, either Chinese or other, came to Northern Ireland during this period due to the widely publicised dangers. Marta Kempny noted that the reason for low migration flow and restrained number of migration to Northern Ireland for a long period of time was due to the ‘continued social instability that came with the Troubles’, whilst, the ‘physical remoteness of the region, and its unfavorable economic situation (with Northern

Ireland being one of the poorest regions in the United Kingdom)' (2010: 31) also had an impact. All these factors may have contributed to the fact that during this period, many Chinese chose to migrate to England, Wales and Scotland, but not Northern Ireland.

Since the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, which brought the troubles to an end, the situation has changed (Kempny 2010: 31). The editorial in the Cultural Traditions Journal, *Causeway* (1998) remarked that 'there are many sizeable minorities' in Northern Ireland, they 'contribute to our culture in many surprising ways yet lie outside the concept of a two-tradition society' which meant 'two monolithic communities – Protestant/unionist and Catholic/nationalist'. The aims of *Causeway* were to demonstrate the existence of 'a much more diverse culture' in Northern Ireland.

Irwin and Dunn (1997: 16) have pointed out that there are growing numbers of 'ethnic minority representative organizations, an increase in the literature dealing with ethnic minorities in Northern Ireland, and a marked awareness of these groups by wide-ranging sections of the Government and service sectors'. Besides organizations founded within individual ethnic groups, three organizations 'represent the ethnic minority communities in Northern Ireland as a whole' (1997: 17), namely the Multi-Cultural Resource Centre; The Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities and the Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Equality (Ibid.). These organizations play a role as 'umbrella bodies which deal with common problems and needs of ethnic minorities in Northern Ireland and 'provide a "voice" for ethnic groups as a whole' (1997: 18). Irwin and Dunn also revealed the lack of publications

on ethnic groups in Northern Ireland until recent years (1997: 19). They note, however, that progress has been made and more publications mainly from a 'social policy perspective or in terms of service provision' have become available since 1997. From 1991, conferences and seminars related to race relations were held. The conference on 'Racism and Equal Opportunities, the need for legislation in Northern Ireland' organized by the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) sub-group on racism started the awareness of 'racism, hearing the experience of ethnic groups' and the creating of anti-racism legislation (Ibid.).

Raymond Russell (2012) reported in 'Migration in Northern Ireland: an Update' that between 2000 and 2010, around 122,000 long-term international migrants had arrived in Northern Ireland, of which 97,000 had subsequently left. According to an article about Poles in Northern Ireland on BBC News on May 2010, there had been a 'sudden and dramatic' rise 'in numbers of immigrants to NI over the past six years'. After 2004, due to 'the decline in paramilitary violence, Poland's accession to the EU and the rise of unemployment in Poland', the population of Polish migrants in NI had reached 35,000. Statistics showed that 'almost 60% of migrants to NI from the new EU states are Polish'.[4]

The rise of the migrant population from 2000 is also seen in the arrival of 'Portuguese workers and nurses from India and Philippines' (Russell 2012: 3). Migrants in Northern Ireland are 'dispersed throughout the country', but in the west and southwest of Northern Ireland, particularly in Dungannon, Newry and Mourne, Craigavon and Belfast, it is more common to see concentrated populations of

[4] Anonymous 2010 How welcome are Poles in Northern Ireland. Internet document accessed 13/4/2016 at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/8673012.stm

migrants (Ibid.). Russell concluded that these new residents from ‘Poland, Portugal, China, Brazil and East Timor has enriched the culture and fabric of Northern Ireland’ (2012: 25). He remarked on the positive impact of migration upon Northern Ireland:

> The various migrant populations who have arrived in Northern Ireland since the millennium have brought with them, not only their skills and experience, but also their traditions, music, food and language. Ten years ago, Northern Ireland was a relatively insular and inward-looking country. Today, it is a vibrant and culturally diverse society.

Russell pointed out that although it is common to see reports in the media about harassment and intimidation, surveys had indicated that ‘the majority of new residents have integrated well into the host community’ (2012: 25-26). Together with their families, transformation and changes will happen to the society (2012: 25).

The recent data accords with Russell’s (2012) account in suggesting that Northern Ireland has become a more welcoming destination for migrants and his stress upon the importance of developing a multicultural society. Drawing upon my own experience in Northern Ireland, mainly in Belfast since 2008 and upon information collected from my informants, Belfast is generally experienced as a city with friendly people and provides platforms for exchanging and sharing different cultures. From a personal point of view, I was able to expand my horizons after coming to Belfast. I had access to the cultures of different countries and even had opportunities to see and learn more about dimensions of my own cultural background with which I had no previous contact, such as Chinese martial arts, Lion dance and classical Chinese dance. Numerous events, festivals, workshops and activities featuring diversity and

multicultural communication are held throughout the year. According to Vered Amit, people form contextual fellowship through daily interactions and social networks, this fellowship is not static, and people are constantly moving in and out of it. It cannot be labeled as categorical identity (2002: 5). Therefore, an individual person does not automatically belong to a clearly defined community or diaspora, because such interactions are always a mobile process. When I came to Belfast as an individual, there were certain opportunities to participate in events that emphasized Chinese culture; some were organized by Chinese diasporic organizations, that was how I became part of 'Chinese' diasporic networks. I also had access to Irish culture, creating social relationships with Northern Irish locals who interestingly are also part of Chinese networks. For example, there are non-Chinese Northern Irish people who are part of the Lion dance group. Migrants' networks and social relationships, then, are constantly negotiated and changing, identity formation is always a process rather than a static state or label. The incorporation of Chinese diasporic networks into wider 'British' societal networks became particularly visible in 2015, when Alan, a Chinese martial arts and Lion dance instructor, originally from Hong Kong and now resident in Belfast, was awarded the British Empire Medal by Queen for his group's cross-community and charity work (see figure 1).

Figure 1. Chinese lion dance instructor Alan had a meeting with Queen at the Royal Garden Party on 11th May 2016.

Alan's team organised a 'Culture Share Festival' every year in which he invited cultural groups from Japan, the Philippines, India, Brazil, Africa, Ireland and Scotland etc. to perform dance and music. He and his team also performed Chinese Lion dance and martial arts at the events (see figure 2, 3 and 4 below). These events gave performers from various countries opportunities to perform cultural identities based on traditions in their home countries, in the context of multi-ethnic Britain.

Figure 2 (left). Brazilian dance at Culture Share Festival, Lisburn, February 2014.

Figure 3 (middle). Ulster-Scots dance at Culture Share Festival, Lisburn, February 2014.

Figure 4 (right). Chinese Dragon and Lion dance at Culture Share Festival, Lisburn, February 2014.

Like anywhere else in the world, Northern Ireland is still not a completely harmonious and safe place for its residents and migrants. Most of my informants and their children did not encounter incidents related to racism and discrimination in Northern Ireland, but they did speak of minor incidents which can be understood through the notion of 'microaggressions'. The term 'microaggression' was introduced by psychiatrist Chester Pierce (Derald 2010: xvi). Microaggressions are not full blown racist attacks, but are everyday experiences that make people feel unwelcome or uncomfortable. In Northern Ireland, apart from microaggressions, more serious racist attacks were reported in the news occasionally. I was told by local Northern Irish people to be careful at night time, particularly in the working-class loyalist area of south Belfast known as 'the Village' in which there had been a number of racist attacks in 2004. The segregation between the two major Christian groups in Northern Ireland still exists: large number of British or Irish flags were hung in respective areas, and I was surprised that even local people felt so insecure that their name should not be called out loud in particular areas in case it would render their religious background visible and place them in danger.

Many Chinese students and migrants complained that it was boring in Northern Ireland because there was no night life comparable with that of urban China: most streets were empty after sunset. By contrast, the street view in China is lively and prosperous at night time, when the streets are filled with food-stalls, markets, Chinese square dance and other folk dances. People can just go for a walk after a day's hard work and dinner, taste some street food, appreciate other peoples' dance or join it and exercise. Alternatively, karaoke bars or barbeque shops are popular places to spend night time with family and friends. Belfast does have a very active pub and

club life, which is a major selling point for tourism. Karaoke is also popular in pubs in working-class areas. However, most Chinese people prefer to have meals with drinks and sing Karaoke sometimes afterwards if they want to have a night out. For some Chinese people, safety in Belfast at night time is also what concerns them.

Economically, Northern Ireland has long been the poorest part of the UK, and prospects have been particularly poor since the 2008 financial crisis. According to BBC News NI Economics & Business Editor John Campbell, official figures showed that ‘Northern Ireland's economy shrank slightly in the second quarter of 2015’. Between the year of my arrival and the end of my fieldwork, I witnessed many shops open and then close down. The Employment rate is low and many employees were paid minimum wage. In spite of government support for poor people, benefits are limited and there is obvious gap between rich and poor. China has similar problems, but during the time of my fieldwork in Northern Ireland before 2010, it appeared to have more optimistic prospects, having become more competitive in the world market. There was a rapid modernization process: if people left their hometown to study or work in different cities, when they returned home after a period of time, they saw dramatic changes in the urban landscape of their hometown. This was a topic which came up in interviews several times: when my informants went back to China they saw many new buildings and sometimes they could no longer recognize the old streets. They had complex emotions about these changes: surprise at the amount of change, pride in their hometown’s development, regret at missing all these development processes. They also noticed that technologically China is much more advanced than when they left and that the majority of young Chinese people are using smart phones, and other online technologies with a level of skill which they

themselves had not yet mastered. Compared to the life in Northern Ireland, the tempo of living in China was seen as much faster, especially in bigger cities. Depending on personal preferences and individual choices, there are advantages and disadvantages to life in both Northern Ireland and China. Perceptions of the pros and cons of each will be listed and analysed below when I consider pull and push factors in migration

.

2.2 Chinese Migrants in Northern Ireland

According to a Derry City Council and Sai Pak Chinese Community (DCC/SPCC) project report in 2008,[5] there are about 8,000-9,000 Chinese residents in Northern Ireland, and it was the 'largest and most widespread ethnic minority group living in the North until the European Union expanded recently,' which resulted in large numbers of Eastern Europeans coming to Northern Ireland (2008: 6). Approximately half of this population consists of children and young people, which include second and third generation Chinese. Many members of the younger generation were born in Northern Ireland, and some of them may never get a chance to visit China or Hong Kong. About 40% of Chinese residents live in the Belfast area; others are distributed in Londonderry, Craigavon, Lisburn, Newtonabbey, Ballymena and North Down (2008: 6). The main language spoken by Chinese in Northern Ireland is Cantonese, used by about 80-90% of the Chinese population in the country. Around 5% of people (mainly elderly Chinese) from Hong Kong's New Territories speak the local Hakka dialect. Mandarin is used by about 10% of the Chinese, mainly those coming from mainland China, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia as students (2008: 24). In 1998, it was estimated that '65-75% of first-generation immigrants were unable to speak English' (Hainsworth 1998: 138).

[5] Derry City Council & Sai Pak Chinese Community Project 2008. From the Far East to the Far West-40 years history of the Chinese Community in the North West. Derry/Londonderry: Derry City Council Community Relations; Waterside Community Services Office.

The Chinese community in Northern Ireland dates back over 50 years. As I indicated in chapter one, the term ‘community’ has to be treated with care, because identification with a certain community is a dynamic process where at times people associate with being Chinese and other times not. The immigration pattern of Chinese to Northern Ireland was similar to that in other parts in Britain. According to the record, the first Chinese restaurant ‘The Peacock’ opened in Belfast in 1962 (DCC/SPCC 2008). In the northwestern area, the first Chinese couple was from Hong Kong, and they opened the Ricebowl restaurant in Londonderry in 1964 (DCC/SPCC 2008: 4). Chinese people in this region are mainly from the New Territories of Hong Kong and the adjacent Guang Dong province. As the catering competition became more and more intense in England, people moved to further cities and towns to pursue more benefit. Northern Ireland was one choice, although the civil unrest since 1969 has made some reluctant to invest in the province. Chinese investment increased as the political situation improved. Watson (1989) noted that ‘the Chinese community in Northern Ireland has grown considerably in the last ten years, to become its biggest ethnic minority with approximately 4,500 people’. Most Chinese people came to Northern Ireland with the aim of making a living, but in recent years, more people have come here to study or because their partners are local people, whilst some ‘have sought asylum after fleeing persecution in China’ (2008: 8).

In the 1950s, a large number of refugees came to Hong Kong from mainland China, bringing expertise and capital. Poor and traditional farming villages of the New Territories could not compete with Hong Kong economically. At this time, the British economy was thriving and sought migrant labour from Commonwealth countries.

Both the British and Hong Kong governments encouraged emigration until 1962, in which year the Commonwealth Immigrants Act restricted immigration. Only certain professionals and workers who had already secured jobs would be issued work permits under the new employment voucher system. The emigration pattern from Hong Kong to the UK changed to ‘chain migration’. During this period, most migrants were relatives of those who had already migrated and established businesses, chiefly restaurants. As a result, during the 1950s and the 1960s, thousands of unskilled young Chinese males from the New Territories moved to British towns and cities. Most worked long hours in Chinese restaurants and take-aways, which deprived them of the time to enjoy life, be sociable and gain an education.

Following the initial migration of Chinese originating from Hong Kong and the New Territories, there were further influxes of Chinese from Vietnam during the late 1970s and early 1980s, and of Chinese students from mainland China who started to arrive during the same period. The numbers of students arriving have increased significantly in more recent years as universities in Northern Ireland have built ties with Chinese educational institutions and deliberately sought to attract Chinese students.

2.3 Development of the Chinese Community

In 1983, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (Northern Ireland) (CCC [NI]) was set up in order to help the Chinese business community, whilst in the same year, the Chinese Language School in Belfast was set up to maintain Chinese language and culture among younger generations. The Chinese Welfare Association was established by CCC (NI) in June 1986. it is mainly active in Belfast, and their services include 'English/Chinese classes, youth activities, interpreting and translating facilities to the local Chinese community' amongst others (CWA 1996; Hainsworth 1998: 132). The 'Sai Pak' (Northwest) Branch was established in 2000 in Londonderry (2008: 6). Due to the dramatic language and cultural differences between Chinese and western countries, Chinese migrants tend to stay in their own social circles, and generally avoid involvement with local communities and politics. As a result, they have been characterised as an 'invisible' group (Hainsworth 1998: 127). Nevertheless, when, in 2007, Anna Lo was elected as an MLA for the Alliance Party she became the first Chinese elected national representative in Europe (DCC/SPCC 2008: 16).

Many of the first generation Chinese had been farmers in the New Territories and came to Northern Ireland as labourers. Most were not well educated and some of them even could not read or write Chinese. Statistics show about half of them had only received a primary school education, whilst only about 10% had university degrees. Younger generations in Northern Ireland have had better educational opportunities (DCC/SPCC 2008: 26).

2.4 Pull and push factors for immigration and return visits/migration

Middlebrook and Rico assert that international migration can be understood in terms of push and pull factors:

> In this construct, international migration is stimulated both by 'push' factors in the sending countries and by 'pull' factors in the receiving countries. […]. Both 'push' and 'pull' are needed for the flows to occur (1986: 485).

They listed the principal 'push' factors as 'unemployment, limited economic opportunity, low wages, and political instability and violence in the sending countries' (Ibid.). The principal 'pull' factors from the receiving countries had almost opposite conditions: 'lower unemployment rates, higher economic opportunities, higher wages, and more attractive political and social circumstances' (Ibid.). Middlebrook and Rico noted that these 'push' and 'pull' factors in migration are facilitated by different agencies in early stages and subsequent ones. In the earlier stages, migration was facilitated mainly by 'direct labour recruitment' whilst in the later stages it was facilitated by the 'social networks-ties of extended family, village, or larger social groups' (Ibid.). Opportunities and relevant information from the receiving countries were communicated through recruitment agencies and also through other intermediary networks include 'international communication, international transportation facilities and service-providers' (Ibid.). Middlebrook and Rico frame 'push-pull' theory as an 'empirical generalization that seeks to describe the forces furthering international migration' rather than simply attributing migration to either 'push' or 'pull' factors. My findings are in concord with Middlebrook and Rico's approach in that both push and pull factors need to be taken into account and that the forms taken by immigration are not caused by any single element: rather, the process is influenced by many factors.

Push/pull theory aims to understand both why migrants leave their homelands, and why they choose a specific destination for migration. For example, Castles and Loughna (2005) focused on 'push factors' in analyzing the 'causes of asylum-seeker movements to Western countries' (2005: 53). They also discussed the 'pull factors' 'which influenced forced migrants to seek asylum in a given country or region' (2005: 61). Besides economic factors, geographical proximity, 'past colonial links, common language and diaspora communities' and 'past labour recruitment' which could enable the establishment of ethnic communities with migrants from the same origin, Castles and Loughna suggest that the primary reason asylum-seekers go to industrialized countries was because 'they hope to obtain protection and security for themselves and their families' (2005: 61). Since some migrants have also returned to China from Northern Ireland, whilst others anticipate a return or organize longer term visits, I will extend the push and pull model to also explore push and pull factors for such returns. First, however, I will draw upon my fieldwork to outline push and pull factors affecting migrants leaving China for Northern Ireland. I set out the primary factors motivating movement in each direction in four tables. Table A comprises 'push' Factors motivating movement from China to Northern Ireland whilst Table B sets out corresponding 'pull' factors. Table C presents 'push' factors motivating movement from Northern Ireland back to China, whilst Table D sets out the corresponding pull factors in that direction. I will refer to each of these factors by their number within the table in which they appear: e.g. Push Factor A1 is the first push factor in Table A, referring to movement from China to Northern Ireland, whilst Pull Factor D5 is the fifth pull factor referring to movement from Northern Ireland to China in Table D.

TABLE A: From China to Northern Ireland

Push factors:

1. Excessive population density and derived problems including housing problems and intense competition for employment and university places.

2. Relatively low wages in China.

3. Unstable social environment: news about anti-social behaviors and crime is common.

4. Dissatisfaction with government, whether due to corruption or inaction.

5. Lack of English language environment and resources for English learners and children.

6. Deterioration of the natural environment and exhaustion of natural resources, including issues of water and air pollution, desertification and drought.

7. Personal family disputes.

8. Blockage of access to information and control of freedom of speech.

9. Complicated relation networks in work places and government.

10. Lack of effective regulation of food safety, medical drug safety and quality of products more widely.

TABLE B: From China to Northern Ireland

Pull factors:

1. Opportunities to broaden horizons, experience a different culture and learn western languages.

2. Expectations to expand business and make a fortune.

3. Relatively cheaper living expenses in Northern Ireland compared to London and other large cities in Europe.

4. To receive high quality higher education in prestigious universities. Especially in recent years, more mainland Chinese students have gone abroad in pursuit of higher education.

5. Sufficient English language environment and resources for people who want to improve their English.

6. Smaller population and less competition than either China or mainland UK.

7. Better products' quality, food safety and less pollution than in China.

8. Well protected and conserved natural environment, landscape and historical heritage.

9. Friendly, humane environment and relatively simple social relations.

10. Transnational relationship and marriage.

11. Network or kinship migration: established business and family networks may attract family members and friends to follow.

12. Existing diasporic 'communities' and established agencies in which members have the same origins. Such communities and agencies provide important resources across a range of dimensions.

13. Social stability. Following the 1998 political settlement, stability has improved in Northern Ireland. In the 'Endsleigh's Homes Report' (Endsleigh Insurance Services: 2008), Belfast was ranked in the top ten safest cities in the UK.

Discussion

In Chapter 5, I will give a detailed description of the factors that pushed specific teachers and parents to leave China, and pulled them to come to Northern Ireland. These factors include personal family issues and dissatisfaction with the Chinese government and its policies. A few of my cases also demonstrate the importance of transnational marriage and family ties as pull factors attracting them to Belfast. In Chapter 5, I will also discuss the reasons Chinese parents in Northern Ireland want their children to learn Mandarin or Cantonese as well as English. Many of these can be directly linked to the push/pull factors which motivated migration in the first place, for example, the desire for improved opportunities in employment and education (Pull Factors B2,B4,B6) is linked to the desire for English language learning, whilst the desire to fully integrate and participate in diasporic networks (Pull Factor B12), as well as to maintain established business and kinship networks extending back to China (Pull Factor B11), can motivate learning of Cantonese and Mandarin. The last of these leads us into a discussion of the pull and push factors that persuade Chinese migrants to return to China or visit it regularly:

TABLE C: From Northern Ireland to China

Push factors:

1. Changing and stricter immigration law in UK.

2. Due to the language barrier, cultural differences and lack of familiarity with the local environment, first generation migrants are less competitive in the Northern Ireland job market than local people and other native English speakers.

3. Existence of racism, discrimination and unequal treatment in Northern Ireland.

4. Loneliness and homesickness, which may be exacerbated by language difficulties and cultural misunderstandings.

5. It is relatively harder for migrants to get help or support when they confront a range of problems, ranging from personal economic crisis to violation of rights, violence and crime.

6. Financial crisis in the European economy since 2008.

7. Northern Ireland is unable to provide an adequate 'Chinese' environment for parents who wish their children to inherit Chinese traditions, culture, customs and languages.

8. Perceived negative influences stemming from anti-social behaviours by young people in Northern Ireland.

9. Limited choices of leisure and recreation.

10. Lack of faith in the quality of medical workers' skills.

11. Feeling of insecurity in Northern Ireland. Segregation and attacks between two religious groups; the perception that foreigners are not welcome in some areas; fear that parades, protests and special events such as the bonfires on the 'Eleventh Night', may pose a potential threat to migrants' personal safety.

NOTE: The "Eleventh Night' refers to 11th July, the night preceding the Orange Order's celebration of the Battle of the Boyne on 12th July. Traditionally, bonfires are lit in loyalist areas, and on occasions, racist slogans have been displayed on such bonfires.

TABLE D: From Northern Ireland to China

Pull factors:

1. Migrants' family, relatives and friends back in China would be a strong pull factor.

2. The more familiar environment such as the same language; similar culture and customs can make people's life easier.

3. The current situation of China: more international environment and the rapid development of the economy provides opportunities for talented people and well-educated professionals.

4. The traditional Chinese idea of reverting to one's origin (the Chinese saying is 'fallen leaves return to the roots'). It means that people in their old age have a strong urge to return to their hometown.

5. Homesickness.

6. The breadth and depth of Chinese cultural heritage, the long history of China, even the rich food culture may all be perceived as important aspects of children's education and as a means of broadening their horizons.

7. More modern and vibrant life styles, especially for young people, are a strong pull factor.

8. Elementary education within the Chinese system is seen as a solid foundation for children's later learning.

9. China offers more opportunities to learn traditional Chinese culture, musical instruments and other skills.

Discussion

In recent years, a new group has emerged in China known as 'Hai Gui or overseas returnees'. They are usually Chinese students who finished study overseas and returned to China afterwards. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, immigration law in the UK has become stricter in recent years. Overseas students have to return to China after their study and before their student visas expire. They are no longer allowed to work in UK after finishing their studies. Secondly, economic opportunities for Chinese immigrants' have been reduced because the UK economy slowed in late 2014 due to 'problems in the Euro zone and other geopolitical uncertainties'.[6] A report produced by the New Policy Institute (NPI) has warned that 'another recession is inevitable unless various issues are addressed'.[7] One of the report's authors, Steve Barwick claimed that 'the UK economy is both weak and unbalanced' (Ibid.). NPI also believes that the 'UK economy is closer to the end of a period of growth than to the start of a sustained recovery' (Ibid.). Furthermore, Chinese immigrants may not be as competitive as local people or favoured by employers. A Chinese graduate with a Master Degree in Northern Ireland in 2013 told me that she had sent hundreds of CV to employers, but received no reply. The UK has regulations that graduates from Britain or Europe have priorities over international students when there are job opportunities. If there are no suitable applicants from those places, then they will consider overseas students who have sufficient reasons to work for them (2000: 1).[8] Because most overseas Chinese graduates cannot find jobs in the UK, and the immigration law no longer allows them

[6] 'UK Economic Outlook March 2015: Summary report' on http://www.pwc.co.uk/the-economy/publications/uk-economic-outlook/ukeo-summary-mar-15.jhtml. Visited on 15/8/2015.
[7] 'Beyond the GDP headlines: five reasons the UK economy is flagging' on http://www.theguardian.com/business/economics-blog/2015/apr/27/beyond-gdp-headlines-uk-economy. Visited on 15/8/2015.
[8]中国大学生, 2000. Issues 7-12,《大学生》杂志社.

stay after graduation, they have to return to China, so Chinese overseas students usually chose subjects that will suit the need of Chinese market (2005: 13)[9]. Thirdly, contrary to the stagnant economy in UK, the economy in China has been booming. At the end of 2014, the International Monetary Fund ranked China's economy as 'the world's biggest in purchasing-power-parity terms' for the first time.[10] This had resulted in the US losing its title of the world's largest economy for the first time in more than 140 years.[11] Although economists in China and other countries still doubt the method of this calculation and conclusion, most remain optimistic regarding the stable and rapid growth of the Chinese economy in the future.[12] China now offers relatively more opportunities for graduates in all areas and those with overseas study experience are particularly favoured. According to an investigation report of Employability of Overseas Returnees 2012 by EIC Education based in China, over 70% of overseas Chinese chose to go back to China and work. Even though the competition with local graduates and other overseas returnees is still intense, this trend is increasing, because there are more and more companies cooperating with English speaking countries and more foreign companies establishing businesses in China, overseas returnees still benefit from their unique experience of studying and working abroad. Moreover, these returnees already have an established human relations or social network in China, particularly important when they begin their career, which they do not have overseas. Lastly, there are groups of Chinese immigrants who return to China for a period of time for their children to receive

[9]作品与争鸣, 2005. Issues 1-12, 中国当代文学研究会"作品与争鸣"编辑部.
[10] 'The world's biggest economies-China's back' on http://www.economist.com/news/finance-and-economics/21623758-chinas-back. Visited on 15/8/2015.
[11] 'Is China's economy really the largest in the world?' on http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-30483762. Visited on 15/8/2015.
[12] '2014 年 GDP 世界排名 中国 GDP 首超 10 万亿美元排第二' on http://news.21cn.com/social/shixiang/a/2015/0121/10/28926807.shtml. Visited on 15/8/2015.

Chinese education, usually primary to middle school education. Primary school education in China can lay a foundation for Chinese language and literature besides other compulsory subjects such as maths and English. Pupils will be required to obey strict classroom disciplines and be dedicated and competitive due to large number of pupils and publication of exam results. Thus, if Chinese parents in the UK believe in the benefit of Chinese education for their children in China, they would not want to miss the time and opportunity to let them study in China. Especially in recent years, the outstanding result of Chinese pupils in international competitions such as the International Mathematical Olympiad has drawn attention around the world to the Chinese education system. The UK has started programs to exchange teachers with China, especially in science subjects. BBC Two has produced a three episode TV series named ‘Are Our Kids Tough Enough’. In one episode, it asserted that ‘Chinese education is based on authority, discipline and ruthless competition’, and noted that ‘in the international league tables, British schools rank poorly in maths, lagging behind many European and Asian countries, especially China’. In China, you can not only learn English, but also learn other subjects in English in international schools or other prestigious schools. The teachers in these schools aim to ‘give their students a competitive edge in a global marketplace’. Education in the UK has its advantages and disadvantages. Chinese children in the UK will miss the important foundational years of learning Chinese language and literature in China. Although they can learn Chinese at Sunday schools, their Chinese language level will still fall far behind their counterparts in China.

Again, motivations for language learning are linked to motivations for transnational movement. As will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, to be able to communicate with

family members in China is one of the strongest motivations for parents to pass on their mother tongue to the next generation. The desire to maintain kinship networks also underlies the desire to visit China: to be physically present with families. Both visits and language learning demonstrate a commitment to maintaining family ties even though they are far apart from each other most of the time. Another area in which the push/pull factors motivating migration are linked to language learning is the desire to benefit from China's growing economy. I will analyze, in particular, the case of a Chinese Lion dance tutor, originally from Hong Kong, who has expressed his desire to work in China in the future. The desire to immerse their children in a culturally Chinese environment (Pull Factor D6) and to give them wider recreational and leisure opportunities than are available in Northern Ireland (Pull Factor D8) both relate directly or indirectly to parents' concern with their children's education. In Chapter 5, interviews with parents demonstrate how parents arrange for their children to receive education while in China: organize trips to places of interests in China; and arrange formal school education or temporary courses. On the other hand, the lack of an adequate English language environment in China (Push Factor A6), is a concern for many of the Chinese migrant parents who I interviewed. This issue will also be discussed in Chapter 5.

Conclusion

This chapter described the background to Chinese migration to Northern Ireland, giving a brief history of the province and of the development of migration, and particularly Chinese migration to it, since the 1960s. Generally speaking, Northern Ireland has become seen as a peaceful and friendly destination for migrants and the population of migrants from Europe and other continents is increasing. Occasionally, there are racist attacks and other types of crimes too, but government and NGOs in Northern Ireland are making efforts to make it a diverse and multicultural place. The development of a multicultural society in Northern Ireland, since the end of the 'troubles' in 1998, also enabled migrants as individuals to form associations within their own group, whilst also expanding their social networks beyond their 'community'. As increasing numbers of Chinese migrants have come to Northern Ireland, they have established representative diasporic organizations and institutions that organize activities and events and provide services and resources for the Chinese population in the country. When Chinese migrants are involved in these organizations, an image of the 'Chinese community' is presented to other migrants and to local Northern Irish people. However, each individual also has their own immigration history, personal background and social networks, thus their identity should not be labeled as static. Identity is always a changing process. In the final part of this chapter, I analyzed reasons why Chinese migrants choose to stay in Northern Ireland or return to China. They are categorized as push and pull factors from the host country and China. Analysis focused upon family ties, the future development of children and parents and teachers' concern about language learning. In the next chapter, I will outline the methods I used to examine those push/pull dynamics and relate them to the importance of 'Chinese' language maintenance.

Chapter 3. Methodology and Ethics

3.1 Preparation: Gaining Access to the Chinese Language School

Before entering the field, I sourced and studied relevant books, journals, and survey publications from the university library on Chinese immigration and Chinese language schools in Northern Ireland, and familiarized myself with several publications by the Northern Irish Chinese Welfare Association, in order to prepare myself for fieldwork. I also gained key information through news media and online resources to ensure that informants would get the impression that I had at least some basic knowledge of their situation, allowing me to understand their predicaments.

Since my research was on Chinese language learning, my main research strategy was to work as a teacher at the Chinese Language School (CLS) in Belfast. Before I applied for a job at the CLS, I started meeting and talking to friends who worked there to get a general idea about the school, its classes and the teaching content. I also paid visits to two CLSs in Belfast: CLS NI and the Christian CLS, in order to get to know their location, appearance, size, and most importantly, in order to meet teachers and pupils and gain their trust as a researcher. I started doing interviews with teachers, sat in on classes to observe their lessons and interactions with the children and took notes, after receiving permission so to do.

My real involvement in participant-observation began when I took up the job as Mandarin language teacher in the school. In August 2010, I saw a notice posted by CLS in the Chinese Welfare Association seeking to recruit teachers. This was a great opportunity to intensify my participant-observation, so I sent them my CV and I received a reply inviting me to attend an interview. The school principal and other

authorities were all present at the interview, and decided to take me on as volunteer substitute teacher. Because I was initially a substitute teacher, I did not teach every week, so I continued sitting in and observing other teachers' classes. As a substitute teacher from May 2011, I had the chance to teach different classes on my own, which provided very different experiences when compared to observing the class. When I sat in classes, I could concentrate on making notes about the behavior of pupils and teachers, and did not need to worry about managing classroom dynamics, discipline or teaching. By contrast, as a Mandarin Grade Two teacher from November 2011 (I have taught five Grade Two classes from 2011- 2016), I had many responsibilities. Besides delivering knowledge and disciplining students, I also had to check their homework, make sure nobody fell behind, tidy up the classroom after classes, and communicate with pupils' parents about their children's progress. This allowed me to understand the teacher's perspective, and interact more intensely with both pupils and their parents. I had the chance to get to know each pupil, learning more about their character, background and interests. I also gained direct experience of their attitudes towards language learning and their language abilities and habits. Over the course of the year, I established an emotional bond with the children, the depth of which became clear when some pupils told me during the last class of the term that they did not want to change teacher when they went to the next level class. I was very moved by this (see Figure 1).

Gaining access to the other Chinese language school in Belfast was more difficult and time consuming. The teachers seemed to form a more closed circle: most of them were from Hong Kong or Taiwan. The school premises were at a Chinese church, and teachers and most parents were Christians. I did not see any notices recruiting

teachers for that school, and when I approached them as a researcher, asking for access to the school to do some class observations, they required many documents, including a Child Protection Certificate. They also asked me details about how many classes, which level and language classes I would like to observe. Once I received the Child Protection Certificate, they allowed me to observe several Mandarin and Cantonese classes.

Figure 1. Group photo in the last class of the term with my pupils from CLS Grade 2 Mandarin class

I now present brief statistics of my interviews and observations (see Appendix 11 for more detailed information). I did in-depth interviews with 35 informants: 21 from mainland China (Mandarin speakers and one spoke both Mandarin and Cantonese); 6 from Hong Kong (Cantonese speakers); 2 from Taiwan (Mandarin speakers); 2 from Malaysia (Mandarin speakers); 2 from Singapore (Mandarin speakers) and 1 local Irish informant (English speaker). Of these, 7 were male and 28 female. Among the 21 mainland Chinese informants, there was one male teacher from Guang Dong

province who was teaching Cantonese. Of these interviews, 23 were with mothers; 2 were with teachers who were also mothers; 2 were with female teachers without children; 3 were with fathers; 1 with a female teacher with children and 1 with a male teacher without children. I observed 9 classes in the Christian CLS: 3 Mandarin classes and 6 Cantonese classes. In CLS NI, I did 21 class observations, 20 of which were in Mandarin classes and one in Cantonese. I also did 3 observations of lion dance classes in Derry/Londonderry. The levels of language classes ranged from Grade 1 to GCSE levels.

Because I was educated in China and had only lived in Northern Ireland for a year and a half before I started my PhD research, I was not familiar with the local education system. I decided that it was necessary to know more about education in local primary schools in order to be able to make meaningful comparisons with Chinese language schools in Northern Ireland. I therefore volunteered to give several Chinese cultural workshops and Mandarin lessons, and I also worked as an assistant in music classes at Currie Primary School in North Belfast for ten lessons in March 2011. My Northern Irish boyfriend (whom I married in 2013), taught music classes in the local school, so this gave me the opportunity to learn the Irish tin whistle together with eight to ten years old pupils. In the workshops, I introduced the children to some aspects of Chinese history, culture, customs and festivals, and to Chinese craft production, such as making Chinese lanterns, knots and calligraphy. As the regular class teachers were also present at these events, I could observe the ways in which they delivered knowledge and disciplined the pupils. To my surprise, their teaching style was quite different to the more disciplined classes in CLS. These differences will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, dealing with the dynamics of

Chinese Language Schools.

There was a Mandarin class, organized by the Derry branch of CWA, named Saipak CWA, after the region of Northern Ireland in which it is located: Saipak means north-west (西北) in Cantonese. However, due to limited time and the financial constraints of travelling to Derry, I was unable to observe their language classes. I did, however, observe the organisation's Chinese lion dance class several times, and interviewed their lion dance teacher. Because his lion dance pupils were locally born children of Chinese descent, these discussions helped me to understand the attitudes and perceptions of children and their parents towards learning Chinese culture in Northern Ireland, adding a further dimension to my study of language classes.

It is very interesting to compare the purposes and reasons given by school pupils and adult students for learning Mandarin or Cantonese. During my fieldwork, besides teaching younger pupils at the Chinese language school, I also taught Mandarin to adult local and foreign students. Younger children usually do not have a clear understanding of why they are in the school learning the languages: the most common reason was because their parents sent them there and they were asked to do so. In contrast, adult students usually tell me specific reasons for learning Mandarin: for example, their partner or spouse speaks the language; they need it for their work; they have plans to travel to China; or they think it is useful to learn a language which is also widely used around the world. Cantonese learning is less popular among adult students, because it is not the official language of China and it is used by a much smaller Chinese population around the world. This work helped me to understand the changes of purposes and perception of the Chinese descent about meanings of

learning Chinese languages and their identification along with ages and their experiences.

3.2 Participant Observation

As described above, my main method was participant-observation. Becker and Geer noted that '[i]n general, participant-observation means the observer gathers data by participating in the daily life of the group or organization that he studies…' (1960: 268-69). Before I became a teacher in the Chinese Language School, I went there most weekends and attended different classes, usually sitting at the back, taking notes and observing the classroom environment: focusing on the pupils' behavior, their linguistic performance, and the teaching styles and strategies of their teachers. At the break-time in the middle of the two-hour class, I had the chance to chat with both teachers and pupils. After the class, I always helped the teachers to clean and tidy up the classroom. After a few weeks, the teachers got to know me better and sometimes asked me to assist, helping pupils who fell behind or checking their homework. After I became a substitute teacher in the school, I also attended events such as teachers' meetings, training sessions, fundraising events and ceremonies celebrating the beginning of a new term or the award of qualifications. In the first training sessions of a new term and at the school opening ceremonies, the School Principal always recounted the school's history and its current situation. During the teachers' meetings and training sessions, teachers talked about their teaching experiences and the problems they encountered, providing me with important fieldwork materials which enriched my data.

The process of participant-observation was inevitably influenced by my personal life story. I was a Chinese research student who, in the course of fieldwork, decided to settle in Northern Ireland, getting married to a local Irish husband, and giving birth to a child in 2014. I therefore became what Abu-Lughod (1991: 137) describes as a 'halfie': a person 'whose national or cultural identity is mixed by virtue of migration, overseas education, or parentage' (Cerroni-Long 1999: 272), This experience made me aware of the complexity of diasporic identity formation which, as the previous chapter pointed out, is a dynamic process in which 'Chinese' identity may be temporarily claimed through involvement in 'Chinese' ethnic organizations. In addition, many other identifications, related to individual interests and social entanglements, are formed and reinforced. As will become clear in the next chapters, such identifications include specific ethnic origin, family life, and involvement in social groups organized around religion or cultural and leisure activities in Northern Ireland.

3.3 Semi-structured and In-depth Interviews

My interviewees included the parents of Chinese language school students, teachers, local students and people of Chinese origin, parents who were planning to send their children to Chinese Language School, and local Irish people who were involved in the 'Chinese community'. I started by interviewing my friends and acquaintances who worked with CLS and the 'Chinese community', because they were easy to contact and willing to provide information. These included both Mandarin and Cantonese speakers. I then used the technique of snowball sampling which Valentine defined it as 'contacting one participant via the other': a technique she used to recruit participants through lesbian social networks (1993: 114). Similarly, Biernacki and

Waldorf explained their chain referral sample as ‘created through a series of referrals that are made within a circle of people who know each other’ (1981: l51). The people I interviewed during my fieldwork put me in touch with more potential interviewees. Moreover, once I started to work in CLS, it was easier to contact more informants, many of whom I found through this part-time employment. I found snowball sampling was not only very effective in recruiting interviewees, but it quickly expanded my social network. I attended a range of relevant activities, events and meetings, from the Chinese New Year Celebrations to CLS events. I also assisted an After-school Club which included some Chinese students on a few occasions. Such events facilitated getting to know more people and sometimes produced information directly relevant to my research. I found that many informants were keen to help with my research and introduce me to new interviewees. Furthermore, by active involvement in all these activities, I became well-known within the Chinese community, and this produced more opportunities: for example, when the CTS needed a substitute teacher, my frequent attendance led them to ask me in the expectation that I would be available.

I consulted with my interviewees where and when would be the most convenient for them to do the interviews in advance, so the venues and times varied. I did interviews in numerous locations, including my house, the interviewee’s house or workplace, or in the interviewee’s car. Before I started the interview, besides explaining my research and its purposes, I asked them for their consent (see Ethics section below) and explained that the questions would be simple, and the interview could be like a friendly conversation. If they were still not sure about it, I would show them my questions’ list. This usually eased the tension especially if it was the first time we had

met. While doing the interview, I did not only ask questions, sometimes I talked about myself or my experiences as well, and this brought out more information from the interviewee. Kate Fox (2004: 19-20) suggests that there is an almost universal rule that people unconsciously tend to achieve some degree of symmetry or balance in their conversations: 'if you tell them something about your own "private" life, the other person will feel obliged,…to reciprocate with a comparably personal disclosure' and she named this 'the reciprocal disclosure strategy' (Ibid.). My experience also accords with Andreski's (1972: 112) assertion that the interviewer/anthropologist's own character also affects the outcome: Andreski noted that: '…the basic tool of the interviewer is in fact his own personality…'. During the interviews, I tried to be friendly, confident, relaxed and natural, so the whole atmosphere was relaxing, which would make both of us talk easily and openly. Most of my interview questions were open-ended, which could lead the conversation to go in many directions and sometimes in considerable depth.[13] I chose to do semi-structured interviews in order to avoid the conversation being framed or restricted by previously designed questions. While we were talking, some new topics which related to my research would always be brought up enabling me to broaden my understanding. If the conversational topic went too far away from my focus, I could check my question list and bring it back on track with the next question.

I recorded all the interviews with the permission of the interviewees. There were a few informants who preferred not to be recorded, so in these cases I only took notes. One of the problems with recording the interviews during my fieldwork was that I found people tended to talk more positively when being recorded whilst others

[13] Questionnaires may be found in Appendix 7, 9, 10 and 11.

restricted themselves to short and simple answers. One reason informants may have been less forthcoming when being recorded may be because there is a Chinese saying: '言多必失' which is roughly equivalent to the American English idiom 'loose lips sink ships'. It is also possible that informants with little education did not want to reveal their lack of knowledge of certain issues. I found that such informants often only answered 'yes' or 'no' to my questions. Despite these problems, I found recording was very helpful, because I did not need to worry about taking notes or forgetting important points. I could concentrate on listening and responding to my informants.

I also took some simple notes while doing the interview, but I kept these to a minimum, because I noticed that interviewees might be distracted: watching me writing while they were talking or even slowing down or pausing to allow me write. Furthermore, I had to look down to write and loss of eye contact could inhibit conversation. I therefore tried to give my interviewees my full attention most of the time in order to smooth the flow of conversation and show my respect for them.

3.4 Questionnaire

In addition to interviews, I also designed questionnaires (see Appendix 6, 7 & 8) for some younger Chinese pupils and also used them to elicit responses from Chinese teenagers who were part of the Chinese Lion Dance Society. I received four responses. To get an additional view on Chinese language learning from a boy whose family had migrated to Canada, I gave one questionnaire to a Canadian Chinese boy when I was visiting my parents in China. He was nine years old and reluctant to be

interviewed due to shyness. I also volunteered to do some statistical analysis of CLS questionnaires sent out at the beginning of the school term in September 2011 (see Appendix 4; see results in Appendix 5). They sent the questionnaires to all 180 Students in September 2011, but only 35 of them were returned and were valid. Among them, 6 were from Mandarin Grade Three; 2 were from Mandarin Grade Five; 5 were from GCSE class; 5 from Cantonese Grade Three; 2 from Cantonese Grade Four and the rest did not specify the classes. I designed a three-page questionnaire (see Appendix 7) for 16 of my Grade Two Mandarin class' pupils in 2012 and all 16 were returned validly completed.

3.5 Visual data collection

I took many photos in the field including photographs of the homes of eight informants: principally of Chinese artifacts which included the use of Chinese languages (see Figure 2); Chinese ornaments and decorations and Chinese language books. These will be discussed further in Chapter 5. I also took photos of CLS text books; classrooms; CLS pupils' homework and exam papers; pupils' group photos and CLS events.

I prepared a photo consent form for students' parents (see Appendix 3). Having secured their approval, I took more class photos which I used only for academic purposes.

Figure 2. Chinese New Year decoration on the door at one of my informants' home in Belfast.

In the Mandarin Grade Two class I taught during 2012, I gave my 16 pupils a drawing assignment in the last class of the term in order to allow them to express their impressions and perceptions of their Mandarin learning experience through a non-linguistic medium. They could choose to draw from one of three topics: 'my Chinese Language School'; 'my Mandarin teacher'; or 'I learn Mandarin'. I received 15 very colourful and meaningful drawings (see Figure 3) from these five to seven year-old children which I found to be valuable data that helped me to better understand children's points of view.

Figure 3. Seven drawings from my pupils of Mandarin Class Grade 2 in June 2013.

3.6 Ethics

Since my research involved children and young people from the age of five years upwards, I paid attention to the legal and ethical requirements for working with them. I prepared a research consent form, photo consent form, and letters to teachers and parents in advance, and also was able to show informants an official letter from my supervisor and official forms from Queen's University giving consent and ethical approval for my research. During the research period, I also obtained police certification and child protection certificate. I attended all the CLS teachers' training sessions and meetings after I became a substitute teacher. These occasions provided information about particular rules, regulations and issues regarding working with children in this particular school.

I attended child protection training organized by CLS and received a certificate.

Different organizations have their own specific child protection policy too. I have read CLS' policy and its regulations carefully. According to American Anthropological Association (AAA) statements on ethics, anthropologists should get informed consent and let the informants participate voluntarily. Their privacy should be kept confidentially. Anthropologists should cause no harm to the informants. The ethical guidelines from Association of the Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth (ASA) also include avoiding undue intrusion, fair return for assistance etc. I always clarified my identity and showed my research consent form to the school authorities or teachers first in the field. I told the informants my purpose, research topic and informed them the data would only be used for my PhD research.

On checking interview recordings and transcriptions, I omitted some sensitive and irrelevant content, for example, profits of business, staff payments and potential trade secrets. Access to the original recordings, transcription, ethnography, photos and the final dissertation are all available to my informants. In order to protect the informants' privacy, anonymity has been adopted throughout the ethnography, and the names used in this work are pseudonyms rather than real names. Interviewees were informed of this policy before the interviews.

In return for the kind help and cooperation of my informants, I sought to provide help for them whenever possible. This could include assisting teachers with tasks such as cleaning classrooms, working as a voluntary teaching assistant upon request, and providing language help for those informants who were not very proficient in English.

3.7 Being a Mandarin Speaker in a multi-linguistic field

As noted earlier, my changing position as a Chinese student who got married, had a child, and decided to settle in Northern Ireland, influenced my fieldwork experiences. In addition, my status as a Mandarin and English speaking Chinese citizen also affected my research in ways which I did not initially expect. As will become clear, my bias towards Mandarin as the government promoted majority language in China blurred the boundaries of the terms that I used when speaking about 'Chinese' languages during my interviews. In my research, 'Chinese' in fact included both Mandarin and Cantonese.

'中文 (Chinese Pinyin: zhong wen)、华文(hua wen)、华语(hua yu)、国文 (guo wen) and 国语(guo yu)' were terms used by Chinese people originally from different parts of China and Asia during my fieldwork, all of which translate to 'Chinese language' in English. '中文' (literal meaning: Chinese literacy) was usually used by people from mainland China and Hong Kong. '华文' (literal meaning: ethnic Chinese literacy) and '华语' (literal meaning: ethnic Chinese language or speech) were usually said by Malaysian Chinese or Singapore Chinese. '国文' (literal meaning: national literacy) and '国语' (literal meaning: national language or speech) were usually used by people from Taiwan. I understood the meaning of these terms when people used them, but I felt a little strange sometimes because it was my first time hearing people using terms other than '中文' (zhong wen) to mean 'Chinese language'. In order to avoid misunderstanding and establish a common ground between me and the interviewees who were not from mainland China, I often switched my expression of Chinese language to their terms during the interview.

China's vast territory has produced a variety of dialects or even languages spoken by people from different regions. The oral language of my hometown, Liaoning, located in north-eastern China, is very close to the language spoken in Beijing where the official Mandarin language is rooted. Although you can hear some pronunciation and wording differences between the oral languages of Beijing and my hometown, there were no barriers of understanding. However, if I travel to southern cities of China, the situation is very different. For example, in Shenzhen, in Guangdong province close to Hong Kong, where I have visited relatives, the majority of people speak Cantonese. Even though Mandarin is taught in Shenzhen schools, according to my relatives, those who do not speak fluent Cantonese are regarded as outsiders. Whilst Mandarin is the 'official' language, in daily life, Cantonese predominates. Whilst I have been able to learn some understanding of Cantonese, which has many similarities in wording and pronunciation to Mandarin, I can still find it hard to understand native speakers when they speak quickly.

Due to the specific history of Chinese migration to Northern Ireland, the majority of migrants spoke Cantonese as their first language, and that language remains important to them. During the course of my fieldwork, I came to realise that my own identity as a native Mandarin speaker could introduce certain biases into my work, and I will reflect upon these biases in later chapters and in the Conclusion.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined my methods of research with a focus upon my primary methodology: participant-observation in Chinese Language Schools in Belfast. The depth of my participation increased with time and my changing position in the school as I moved from observation of other teachers' classes; to being a teaching assistant; being a substitute teacher and ultimately to being a regular teacher for the Mandarin Grade Two class. I prepared for this fieldwork through extensive library research before entering the field. Other methods employed included semi-structured and in-depth interviews with teachers, pupils' parents and some older students; and questionnaires administered to pupils and to Chinese lion dance students. I found the saying 'A picture is worth a thousand words' relevant particularly in dealing with children. I collected much visual data including photos of informants' homes and classes and drawings created by my pupils. In the next chapter, I will discuss a major topic of this dissertation: the inter-linkage between 'Chinese identities' and cultural and linguistic practice. This question recurred frequently throughout the fieldwork and many of my observations and interviews reflected this theme and enriched the picture of Chinese language learning in Belfast which I present.

Chapter 4 Seeking 'Chinese identities' through cultural and linguistic practice

Introduction

> In many ways, the study of linguistic anthropology is the study of language and identity. The field's concern with the linguistic production of culture entails a concern with the variety of culturally specific subject positions that speakers enact through language. Thus classic linguistic-anthropological studies of performance and ritual, of socialization and status, describe not merely kinds of speech but kinds of speakers, who produce and reproduce particular identities through their language use (Bucholtz and Hall 2003: 369).

As this quotation from Bucholtz and Hall notes, language use and identity are closely related and to study language effectively entails studying identity. This chapter will look at 'Chinese identity' maintenance among Chinese immigrants in Northern Ireland. If Chinese identity is being maintained, to what extent does language use and learning play a role in this maintenance? How does language learning and usage strengthen identity claims? Is one's Chinese language ability proportional to their Chinese identity? If so, to what extent do they impact each other? Do different language choices, for example Mandarin, Cantonese or English, represent or inform different discourses and performances of identity and belonging within the umbrella of the 'Chinese diaspora'? This chapter will explore the relationship between Chinese language learning and identity formation in the 'Chinese community' in Northern Ireland. The purpose of this chapter is not to predict the situation of Chinese language and identity in the future, but to investigate present situation and illuminate existing problems of maintaining 'Chinese language and identity' overseas.

Language and identity

Learning a language can be an effective, if not essential, channel to know a country, culture and people, not only because the detailed materials of culture are communicated through language, but also because language itself conditions people's world view and way of thinking. The language represents their identity to certain extent. A pivotal theorisation of this relationship was put forward by the American linguists Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf. In 1929, Sapir argued that:

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society […] The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation (Sapir 1958 [1929]: 69).

Sapir's student Whorf further developed Sapir's idea. In the 1930s, he declared that:

> We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages […] the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds - and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way - an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the

> patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, but its terms are absolutely obligatory; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees (Whorf 1940: 213-14).

Erikson stated that this hypothesis revealed 'an intimate connection between the categories and structure of a language and the ways in which humans are able to experience the world and express their world-view to others' (2010: 239). He commented that to solve tasks, languages were developed as tools by human being, and 'the language of a people will therefore be a significant source of knowledge about their mode of thought, their cosmology and their everyday life' (2010: 240). I accept Whorf's assertion that language can reflect people's worldview and culture; whilst remaining aware that language is not exclusively dependent upon worldview and culture, but must also be examined with consideration of many other aspects, such as cognition and psychology. One of the founders of American anthropology, Franz Boas acknowledged the close relationship between languages and the culture and world view expressed by humans. He argued that 'one could not really understand another culture without having direct access to its language' (Duranti 1997: 52). Boas's student A. L. Kroeber ([1923] 1963: 102) also noted:

> culture can probably function only on the basis of abstractions, and these in turn seem to be possible only through speech, or through a secondary substitute for spoken language such as writing, numeration…Culture, then, began when speech was present… (Duranti 1997: 53).

Boas and his student A. L. Kroeber stressed the importance for ethnographers to learn informants' languages in the field, because the relationship between language

and culture is so close that culture cannot function or be understood well without language. When a person or a group of people speak a language or learn a language, does it inform a certain identity? British linguist David Crystal gave an affirmative answer: 'language shows we "belong", providing the most natural badge, or symbol, of public and private identity' (1987: 17). He further asserted that 'varieties of language can also signal ethnic identity' (1987: 35), especially for migrants who spoke the languages of host countries with their unique accent and dialects (Ibid.). He stressed the strong connection between 'personal linguistic identity' and 'ethnicity and nationhood' (1987: 34). Questions of ethnolinguistic identity tended to arise in regard to 'demands and needs' from 'an ethnic minority within a community', such as 'the many groups of immigrants, exiles, and foreign workers in Europe and the USA…' (Ibid.). Nevertheless we still need to be aware of individuality and varieties within such group identities: as Noam Chomsky remarked, each person lives in a different social context and interacts with different people. They have different ways of interpreting what they see and think and different habits of using the languages (1986: 16).

Language and community

As pointed out in earlier chapters, community making is always a process, and linguistic behaviour is an important element in that. According to Vered Amit and Nigel Rapport, many people form a sense of more collective and contextual fellowship through 'mundane daily opportunities for consociation, circumstances variously of work, leisure, being neighbours, education and more' (2002: 4-5). In these occasions, people are using the same languages, meeting familiar friends and sharing experiences, at that moment, 'they have something in common' (Ibid.). I will

therefore discuss some examples that demonstrated how language can inform community in the case of Chinese people in Northern Ireland.

David Yen-ho Wu[14] (1991), of the Institute of Culture and Communication at the East-West Centre in Honolulu, observed patterns of 'Chinese becoming non-Chinese in Papua New Guinea' (1991:174). He mentioned an example of an individual family that demonstrated *peranakanization*[15] process. A Chinese migrant worker from Taishan in Guangdong Province migrated to New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. He had three sons with a local New Ireland woman. The younger sons married 'mixed-blood'[16] women, and one of them became a successful local politician. They spoke Cantonese within the Chinese community on the island, but to local people their appearance was little different to other Melanesians on the islands of Papua New Guinea. When this politician paid a visit to China representing Papua New Guinea, however, the fact that he spoke fluent Cantonese resulted in him being treated as an 'overseas Chinese returning home' (1991: 175). My own family history provides another example. My grandparents and parents are all Mongolians, one of 55 minority groups within China. We lived in north eastern China where the majority population is of the dominant Han ethnicity. Although the area is not too far from Inner-Mongolia, our customs, language and even way of thinking and appearance are much the same as those of local Han people. I remember my grandparents using

[14] Wu conducted research with people recognized by themselves and others as 'Chinese' living on the remote islands of Papua New Guinea from 1970 to 1973 (1991: 164); In the 1980s, he did research on minorities in China which raised questions about 'the meaning of being Chinese and non-Chinese within China' (1991: 166). One of these minorities was Bai people in Yunnan Province during the summer of 1985. This study demonstrated the processes of 'cultural construction and interaction' between Han people and minorities in China (1991: 168).

[15] Wu defined the process of *peranakanization* 'migration out of China, acculturation to an indigenous culture, and subsequent loss of one's Chinese identity' (1991: 172).

[16] The author used the term 'Mixed-blood' women here to mean people from mixed families of native New Ireland people and Chinese immigrants.

Mongolian words or sentences in their speech, which, however, was still mostly Mandarin, at least when speaking to us, their grandchildren. My father could speak and understand Mongolian, whilst my mother could understand Mongolian but could not speak it. Mandarin was the only language routinely used in our home. Occasionally when I claimed I was a Mongolian, nobody in China believed me, because I neither look Mongolian nor speak the language. I also felt there was distance between me and real Mongolian people when I visited Inner-Mongolia, because we did not use the same language. Thus, whilst the New Guinea politician was accepted as Melanesian in Papua New Guinea, and as Chinese in China, due to his fluency in both languages, for me, my inability to speak Mongolian created a distance from those I perceived as 'real Mongolians'.

Thus languages can function as identity markers and that loss of language abilities over several generations can weaken identification within a particular ethnic group. Language is a very important element of one's identity and this is true both for different minority groups within China and for Chinese immigrants overseas.

Nationalism, communism and the 'Chinese' people

Wu reported that many overseas Chinese community members had 'gone native', especially in South Asia where the population of Chinese migrants was large and the history of settlement was long (1991: 171-172). He observed that even though the native-born Chinese in Indonesia had 'gradually lost their mother tongue and cultural characteristics' (1991: 172); that they spoke the local language; and that 'pure' Chinese from China or older generations in Indonesia might doubt the authenticity of their Chineseness; some traditional Chinese customs and ceremonies still existed

among them and they were confident about their Chinese identity. They always referred to themselves as ‘we Chinese’. Wu’s study demonstrated that Indonesian-born Chinese and older generations born in China had different criteria and interpretations of ‘being Chinese’. Such communities were also common in Malaysia and Singapore (Ibid.). Thus it is not strange to see a person from Malaysia claiming himself or herself to be Chinese and trying to maintain Chinese language and culture.

Based on the migration history within China and abroad, Wu stated: firstly, Chinese moved southward in China. Then many Chinese travelled further, to ‘primarily Southeast Asia, Oceania, and North and South America from southeast coastal China’ (1991: 160). Wu added that in the last sixty years, the Communist government in China also promoted a ‘state version of Chinese identity’ which could reinforce the common sentiments of home-oriented identity (Ibid.). He revealed that Chinese identity has been maintained even though there is physical separation of many Chinese from their homeland which is the centre of their culture (1991: 160). Wu did not specify which generations of Chinese immigrants maintained their Chinese identity, but he focused largely on primary Chinese immigration, suggesting that most of those he was studying were first, or at most second, generation. Due to the complex background of Chinese immigrants, he also argued that the single English word ‘Chinese’ is insufficiently precise. He defined different Chinese words which can all be translated as ‘Chinese’ in English, but which have different detailed connotations, for example, ‘汉人’ hanren, ‘唐人’ tangren, or ‘华人’ huaren (the Han people, the Tang people, or the Hua people). However, these people all carried one common mission: on the one hand, to ‘keep themselves within the acceptable definition of Chineseness’ (1991: 162); on the other hand, to ‘engage

other members within the Chinese community in the preservation of Chinese civilization despite their non-Chinese environment (Ibid.). He claimed that these procedures of identity construction in peripheral areas can happen within or outside of China. The evidence of my own experience accords with Wu's idea of unfixed and changing notions of being Chinese and of Chinese culture:

> The Chinese people and Chinese culture have been constantly amalgamating, restructuring, reinventing, and reinterpreting themselves; the seemingly static Chinese culture has been in a continuous process of assigning important new meanings about being Chinese (1991: 162-163).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the term '中华民族' *zhonghua minzu*, which translates into English as 'the Chinese race' or 'the Chinese people' (1991: 161), became commonly used. It usually related to nationalistic writings warning of the danger of Western invasion (1991: 161). A related term was '中国人' *zhongguoren*, which carries 'the connotation of modern patriotism or nationalism' (1991: 160). These two terms are based on 'concepts of cultural and historical fulfilment' (1991: 162).

In 1942, in talks at the Yenan Literary Meetings, Mao Tse-tung claimed that 'communism in China, as in the Soviet Union, would involve the complete subordination of all phases of life to the dictates of the Communist party' (Walker 1956: 177). One of the main problems was the classification of more than sixty different minority nationalities which had been a 'vexation for Chinese rulers for thousands of years' (Walker 1956: 184). Chinese communists adopted most of their

policies regarding this matter from the writings of Stalin, establishing 'autonomous areas' for minority groups (1956: 184-185). Since the early twentieth century, four main ethnic minority groups in China had been identified: Man (Manchus), the Meng (Mongolians), the Hui (ethnic groups of Islamic faith in north-western China), and the Zang (Tibetans).

The concept of Chinese people and Chinese culture has been continuously changing, restructuring and reinterpreting (Wu 1991: 162). In Chinese people's mind, 'overseas Chinese' includes all, regardless of ethnic background, who regard themselves as Chinese 'in the fullest sense as long as they are able to claim a Chinese male ancestor, a home place in China where this ancestor supposedly emigrated, and observe some manner of cultural practices' (1991: 163). This conception of the overseas Chinese is gender biased and selective. It only focused on the Chinese male ancestor and it did not mention the role of Chinese language. Wu reported Chinese identity construction by Chinese immigrants in Papua New Guinea where he conducted research. He claimed that they had very flexible criteria:

> Irrespective of the extent of ethnic mixture in a person's progenitors, if he was descended from a Chinese man, maintained a Chinese surname, and spoke a little Chinese, he was accepted by the Chinese community as a Chinese – Tongjan (in Cantonese, Tang people) (1991: 175).

Although the criteria above about identifying a Chinese overseas is not comprehensive, it is more inclusive than his earlier definition, because it did not mention only male ancestors and did acknowledge the significance of Chinese language. Wu revealed that it was common to hear the phrase 'we Chinese…' used

by Sino-Niuginians whose appearance was similar to that of indigenous native people.

How are the Chinese overseas regarded within China? Wu explained that for ordinary people in China, the term Huaqiao (or Huaren; Huayi[17]) invokes a stereotypical Chinese image - 'one who is Chinese but partly alien, wealthy, often associated with America and the Cantonese or, in some cases, associated with Nanyang, the South Seas, and the Hokkienese (1991: 163). This image of Chinese overseas was popular during the 1980s. At that time, it was true that it was mainly people from southern and south-eastern coastal areas of China went abroad and some businessmen were successful and did become rich. Today, images of Chinese overseas have been transformed, they could come from any part of China or Asia, hold different education degree levels and engage in a variety of occupations.

Discourses of Chineseness in Belfast

Interviews with parents of pupils from CLS NI revealed that they shared this more recent, diverse understanding of the Chinese overseas, because the areas of their hometowns vary and their educational backgrounds differ. However, when explaining the reasons for their offspring to learn Mandarin or Cantonese, they similarly associated the languages with Chinese identity. The first extract was with a mother from Singapore. She has a doctoral degree and works as a lecturer at a University. She is almost 40 years old and her husband is from Belfast. They have lived in Lisburn for almost 17 years and have two daughters, aged five and seven.

[17] Huaqiao (华侨): Chinese nationals living overseas; Huaren (华人): Hua or Chinese persons; Huayi (华裔): Chinese descendants (Wu 1991: 163)

> Sha: Why do you let them learn Mandarin?
>
> Xinli: Because they have half Chinese descent. Of course we should encourage them to learn Chinese. My family was originally from Fu Jian, I can't speak Cantonese. If they grew up in Singapore, they would learn Mandarin and English. I won't encourage them to learn Cantonese.

If a child of an immigrant has Chinese descent, he or she will usually be encouraged to learn a Chinese language. Does mastering a 'Chinese' language entail a claim to Chineseness? Wu's observation of many Chinese communities in Papua New Guinea proved Chinese language ability was not the only criteria of judging Chinese identity. Chinese identity in Chinese communities of Papua New Guinea depended on one's wealth and social status, rather than one's skin colour or degree of knowledge of Chinese culture. 'A mixed-blood Chinese, if poor, was regarded as a member of the *bun tong* community; however, if he owned a prosperous commercial business, he was accepted as Chinese' (1991: 175-176). [18] This might be regarded as materialistic superficially, although it also relates to Chinese people's concept of 'face' which means 'social dynamic valuation' and relates to one's 'prestige; dignity; honour; respect and status' (Carr 1993: 90). If someone is successful and becomes rich, family members will be proud of him and also publicise it to their relatives, neighbours, friends and colleagues. Family members will receive their envy and compliments, this will give them more 'face' or dignity and honour. If they are talking to people from another race or nation, they will mention and be proud of their Chinese identity. On the contrary, if someone is not successful and is poor, especially if that poverty could be attributed to laziness, family members would be ashamed and keep this secret, because they would lose 'face' if other Chinese people knew

[18] *Bun tong*: 'A Chinese translation of the colonial English term "half-caste"' (Wu 1991: 175).

their family member was poor, and might therefore be labelled lazy. That is also the reason they did not stress the Chinese identity of such a person. They did not want to leave others a negative impression of Chinese people.

The Singapore mother Xin Li supported her daughters to learn Mandarin, and she distinguished and stressed her choice of a particular language. She approved of them learning Mandarin which is the official Chinese language. Although Cantonese is widely used in many Chinese communities abroad including Northern Ireland, it is only classified as a dialect in Guang Dong province and is the main language only in Hong Kong. The reason she chose Mandarin for her daughters to learn is because firstly, she does not know Cantonese. Secondly, she grew up and received education in Singapore, thus she educates her daughters according to the education program in Singapore, where pupils learn Mandarin and English rather than Cantonese at school. Thirdly, she stressed that Mandarin is the official Chinese language; it is used by most of the Chinese population. If one speaks Mandarin in China, all educated people will understand you. However, if one speaks Cantonese, you can only communicate with people in Guang Dong and Hong Kong. Her decision was not informed by Chinese nationalism but rather by pragmatism and future oriented strategy. It means that Chinese government's language and population policy, which aims to populate the whole of the Chinese territory with Mandarin speaking Han Chinese has an effect on the diaspora. Having a Mandarin-speaking mother of Chinese descent was given as the main reason to learn their mother's tongue. However, references to learning 'Mandarin' and 'Chinese' were both used, demonstrating a blurring of assumptions about linguistic abilities, racial categorisation, transnational orientation and Chinese nationalism. Language-learning,

in other words, is a complex process that can situationally negotiate multiple layers of identification.

Language, culture and ethnicity in China

Figure 1. Map of 'Chinese dialects' groups[19].

The vast territory of China determines people have different ethnicities, or nationalities as they are officially referred to within China, languages (see figure 1) and customs. Sometimes, regional differences are more prominent than differences

[19] Based on 'Language Atlas of China', by Stephen Adolphe Wurm, Rong Li, Theo Baumann and Mei W. Lee. Longman, 1987. Yue dialect means Cantonese.

between Han people and minorities in China.[20] So people's physical features might be very different, but because they live in the same area or region, they may have the same customs and dialect. Similarly, for instance, two Han people in China may belong to the same nationality, but one lives in northern China, the other one lives in southern China, they have similar physical features, but they could have dramatic cultural and language differences. As Wu commented:

> Stevan Harrell [21] pointed out that the regionally defined groups of Han-Cantonese, Shanghaiese, and Taiwanese, including those living overseas-have obvious ethnic differences in speech, dress, customs, religious beliefs, and so on. Any expert on ethnic studies today will notice that the difference between two Han groups can, in some cases, be more pronounced than that between a Han and a so-called minority nationality group (1991: 167).

Therefore, it is common to hear or see a Chinese person overseas speak, or encourage their children to learn a certain language or dialect due to their places of origin, and they can all claim they are Chinese if not an exact nationality or ethnic group.

Questions of linguistic behaviour and identity also become apparent when looking at debates about dialects in China. One of the debates was about the categorization of linguistic diversities, are they dialects or languages? As a matter of fact, this question is controversial with languages and its varieties around the world. David Crystal

[20] In China, there are fifty-six Minzu or nationalities. The majority, about 94 percent of the Chinese population have Han nationality. Over 60 percent of China's territory is inhabited by the remaining fifty-five ethnic groups-including Manchu, Mongolian and Hui nationalities, etc. (Wu 1991: 166-167).
[21] Stevan Harrell is a professor of Anthropology and International Studies and Director of the Arts and Sciences Honors Program at the University of Washington.

pointed out that ‘one of the most difficult theoretical issues in linguistics is how to draw a satisfactory distinction between language and dialect’ (1987: 25； 312). Many times, the exclusive linguistic criteria of mutual intelligibility for classification of language and dialect cannot apply within complex societies (Ibid.). He further explained that ‘dialects belonging to the same language are not always mutually intelligible in their spoken form’ (Ibid.). Another criterion to judge if they are dialects of the same language is to see if they share the same written form. For example, people in Scotland, Northern Ireland and England have the same written form of English but have different dialects and sometimes it is difficult for them to understand each other (Ibid.).

Now let us turn back to the linguistic situation of China. Because of its vast territory and complex landscape, sayings such as ‘people separated by a blade of grass could not understand each other’ (Crystal 1987: 365) appeared in early progress reports regarding language planning in Datian county in Fujian province in the 1950s. On one occasion, seven interpreters were needed for a speech made by officials (Ibid.). Jerry Norman believed that there would be hundreds of ‘languages’ in China if defining dialect and language by mutual intelligibility (2006: 72). In other words, ‘Chinese is a vast dialectal complex containing hundreds of mutually unintelligible local varieties, each of which can be viewed as a distinct object for comparison’ (Ibid.). In the mean time, when we see Chinese as ‘a language’, the distinction of various ‘Chinese dialects’ can be ‘as diverse as the several Romance languages’ (Chomsky 1986: 15). The large number and complexity of dialects in China is in a different linguistic context compare to Europe, it is difficult to apply the meaning of western terms ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ to the Chinese case (Ramsey 1987: 6; Norman

2006: 72; DeFrancis 1984: 54-56; Kurpaska 2010: 2). DeFrancis remarked the danger of the exclusive linguistic point of view that using mutual intelligibility as the only criteria to divide languages and dialects (1984: 54-56) which I will discuss in the next paragraph and it has always been controversial as regard to 'the membership and classification of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages' (Crystal 1987:310). Jerry Norman's definition of the term 'dialect' that 'used simply in the sense of a distinct local form of speech' (2006: 72) might be more appropriate in Chinese linguistic situation.

The danger of defining differences of languages and dialects by linguistic point of view that DeFrancis mentioned above was because there were always many other elements involved such as religion, economy and politics, and these could result in 'deep-seated animosity and demands for political separation'; most importantly, the 'One-Language, One-Nation concept is one of the major attributes of the modern nation-state' (DeFrancis 1984: 55-56). Maria Kurpaska also argued that 'calling the varieties of Chinese "dialects" (方言 fāngyán) rather than languages does have a strong political undertone, as it serves the unity of the Chinese people. If a vast majority of inhabitants speak one language, the country is also unified' (2010: 2). The choice of the term 'language' and 'dialect' goes beyond the field of linguistics, but extended to the areas of politics, ethnic identity and history (Kurpaska 2010: 3, 203). Crystal argued that the importance of considering and respecting these other aspects such as political and historical reasons rather than linguistic only; furthermore, 'linguistic criteria will never be able to solve a 'dispute over national boundaries' (1987: 25).

Thus besides linguistic classifications, also considering historical and political aspects, David Crystal introduced Chinese languages and dialects in China as follows:

> Because there has been a single method for writing Chinese, and a common literary and cultural history, a tradition has grown up of referring to the eight main varieties of speech in China as 'dialects'[…]. The Chinese refer to themselves and their language, in any of the forms below, as Han - a name which derives from the Han dynasty (202 BC-AD220). Han Chinese is thus to be distinguished from the non-Han minority languages used in China. There are over 50 of these languages (such as Tibetan, Russian, Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian, and Korean), spoken by around 6% of the population (1987: 312).

Chinese languages are also spoken in Taiwan (19 million), 'throughout the whole of South-east Asia, especially in Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Singapore' (Crystal 1987: 310). Many scholars followed the tradition and the same classification method to avoid further complications (Kurpaska 2010: 2; 203). Jerry Norman in his book referred to 'the national standard language as Chinese; local forms of speech whatever their sociolinguistic status, will be referred to as dialects of a particular place' (2006: 72). Chinese linguists Gao Mingkai and Shi Anshi explained '方言 fāngyán'(dialect) as: 'a branch of the language of a nation, its local variant. 方言 fāngyán is used by people living in a certain place, belonging to a certain society, and it has characteristics of its own'(2002: 220-221). Maria Kurpaska acknowledged that 'the term "方言 *fāngyán*" can imply either a large dialect group, such as Mandarin, Yue, Wu, etc., or a tongue used in a small area, such as the Beijing dialect (北京方言 Běijīng *fāngyán*), Shanghai dialect (上海方言 Shànghǎi *fāngyán*)' (2010: 2). When looking at the political and historical background of

Chinese linguistic classification and campaigns, Bucholtz and Hall's comments explain a lot. They noted that 'when individuals decide to organize themselves into a group, they are driven not by some pre-existing and recognizable similarity but by agency and power' (2003: 371).When this power of a particular group of people becomes prominent, through politics, they can control subordinates' behaviour, thinking and language use, in order to strengthen their power. 'differences implies hierarchy, and the group with the greater power establishes a vertical relation in terms beneficial to itself […] this group constitutes itself as the norm from which all others diverge' (Bucholtz and Hall 2003: 372). Through the following legislation, campaigns and policies, we can see how the linguistic behaviour of Chinese people has been penetrated by state power.

普通话 Pǔtōnghuà ("common language" or Mandarin) was chosen 'as a standard for the whole of China, and widely promulgated under this name after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949'(Crystal 1987: 313). In 1955, the Technical Conference on the Standardization of Modern Chinese was held in Beijing. Chinese was officially considered as 'comprising eight *fāngyán* spoken by a total of 541 million people' (DeFrancis 1984: 57-58). The policy of promoting Mandarin started in 1956, and all schools were required to deliver lessons in Mandarin. 'It is now the most widely used form of spoken Chinese, and is the normal written medium for almost all kinds of publication' (Crystal 1987: 313). This language planning programme pursued in China since the 1950s had affected 'hundreds of millions of people', and was actually considered 'some of the most ambitious programmes of language planning ever conceived' (Crystal 1987: 312; 365). Besides choosing Mandarin as the standard spoken language; it also introduced

simplified Chinese characters which will replace the traditional ones and the introduction of a Romanized phonetic alphabet named 拼音(pīn-yīn) (Ibid.). Crystal asserts that the aim of pīn-yīn was to 'gradually replace the Chinese characters in everyday use' (1987: 312). In my experience, this is not the case, however. Pīn-yīn is taught in primary schools in China, to help remember and standardise the pronunciation of characters, it is also easier for foreigners to learn and memorise Mandarin using pīn-yīn. Once students finish the foundation years of learning Mandarin in schools, however, pīn-yīn is rarely used again by educated adults.

In more recent language legislation in China, the government still stressed the importance and promotion of Mandarin. The People's Republic of China Law of the Country's Common Language and Writing was approved in October 2000, and came into force from January 2001. The second article of the first section declares 'the common language and writing in this law refers to Putonghua and the standardized Chinese characters'; 'the country promotes the popularization of Putonghua and the standardized characters' in the third article (see Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language-Order of the President No. 37). We can also see the close relationship between language and state power in a slogan of 国家语言文字事业 "十三五"发展规划 (the 13th Five-Year Plan for State Language Affairs) on September 2016: '强国必须强语，强语助力强国' which means ' A strong country must strengthen her language, strengthened language adds power to the state' (see '强国必须强语，强语助力强国' on website of The State Council The People's Republic of China). The article summarised the achievements in promoting Mandarin since 1956, asserting that 'the popularizing rate of Mandarin in China has risen from the starting point of zero to over 70%;

communication barriers among citizens is basically eliminated'. It also mentioned the development of Mandarin education overseas. 'China has founded about 500 Confucius colleges in 134 countries and 1000 primary and middle school Confucius classes. They play an active role for people around world to learn Mandarin and Chinese culture' (Ibid.). David Crystal revealed the significant role that language plays in ethnic or nationalistic movements:

> It is such a widespread and evident feature of community life. To choose one language over another provides an immediate and universally recognized badge of identity. Another reason is that language provides a particularly clear link with the past - often the only detailed link, in the form of literature (1987: 34).

Construction of language and identity in Belfast

I explore the way some of these issues work out in the Belfast context through my interaction with my respondents. The first is a mother named Qin, originally from Malaysia. I had never met Malaysian Chinese until I came to UK, but we could communicate in Mandarin without difficulty. Although Qin had never lived in China, she was determined to maintain Mandarin, Chinese culture and tradition in NI. She tried to speak Mandarin at home with her children, but she admitted the most common language at home was English. Her attachment to China is not weakened by the distance between the UK and China. According to the 2010 census in Malaysia, people with Chinese descent accounted for 24.6 percent of the whole population. Because of their long history of immigration, integration and adaptation, Chinese migrants in Malaysia had developed their own language accent and usage, as well as

differences in culture and customs, but they still claimed and stressed their Chinese hometown origin.

Qin was 39 years old and she had been in Northern Ireland for 16 years. She has a bachelor degree from a university in Northern Ireland and works in a hospital. She has three daughters who were nine, seven and five years old when the interview was conducted in 2012. They were born and grew up in Northern Ireland. She can speak and write in Mandarin, Cantonese, Fuzhou dialect, Malay and English.

> Sha: Why should your children learn Mandarin in Northern Ireland?
>
> Qin: As a Chinese, let them learn their own culture, fairy tales, customs, and origins of the language: all are very important. If we do not offer this opportunity for them, when they grew up, it would be hard for them to learn. They will lose Chinese origin and identity. There are lots of Chinese everywhere; I think if you did not give them a chance to learn Chinese, they will lose Chinese identity. It is very important. I also think there are many benefits to learn other languages. China is making so much progress economically, learning Chinese will benefit them in the future. Now a lot of foreigners are learning Chinese, so besides as a Chinese, we should learn Chinese, it also benefits them in the future. So I give them opportunity to learn it.

Bucholtz and Hall noted that 'language is central to the production of identity' (2003: 370). Chinese language and identity are linked closely by Qin, who presents them as unproblematic, bounded, inherently positive categories. She emphasised the importance of 'Chinese' cultural aspects and customs as well. Without these, her

children will ‘lose Chinese identity’, even though their physical appearance is still Chinese. ‘Chinese identity’ is imagined as a property that can be lost, not as a process of invention and re-invention.

Benedict Anderson defined the nation from an anthropological point of view as ‘an imagined political community’ (2006: 6). He further explained that a nation ‘is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion’ (2006: 6). Qin lived in Malaysia before she moved to Northern Ireland, and she did not know every member of the ‘Chinese diaspora’. However, she named the same nation, and wished her children to inherit the same culture and custom. An ‘imagined community’ can be identified through her speech, and these imaginaries are reinforced through linguistic labelling.

In addition, she mentioned two reasons for her children learning Mandarin at a young age. Firstly, it is easier to cultivate children with language and culture when they were younger rather than older. Secondly, the pragmatic benefit of learning a second language for them in the future is obvious. Even foreigners are learning Chinese language because the fast economic development of China and its prominent international status.

She used an expression of ‘offering them an opportunity to learn Mandarin’, rather than forcing them to learn it by having to listen to her. Thus it is her children’s choice whether to take the opportunity to learn it. Other parents I interviewed had similar opinions on reasons of their children to learn a language spoken in China.

The father of two of my pupils, sisters Jane and Kate, thought it was very necessary for them to learn Mandarin, because they have family roots in China. Linguistic skills increase their sense of belonging to the Chinese nation. In addition, the language ability is perceived to be useful in the future as it will increase job opportunities in China.

The next informant, Xiao, talked about her grandson, who belonged to the third generation of migrants. Xiao's grandson was born in Belfast. He was five and half years old in 2011 and was learning Cantonese at CLS. Her granddaughter was three years old. Xiao's father was from Guang Dong, China and had settled in England. Xiao had moved to Belfast from London, and had been in Belfast for almost three years. Her daughter was born in London and was 31 years old. The daughter has been in Belfast for about eight years. The daughter's husband is a Chinese man from Belfast, which is why she decided to move to NI. The daughter and her husband both have bachelor degrees. The daughter works as a secretary in a solicitors' company.

> Sha: Why do you let him (her grandson) learn Cantonese?
>
> Xiao: Because we are all Cantonese people, we speak Cantonese. He understands Cantonese, but not very good; He was born in Belfast, and he speaks English more, only speaks a little bit Cantonese. He doesn't like to speak Cantonese. Because he is not good at it. If he can't express it in Cantonese, he will use English. My husband doesn't understand English, so he can only speak Cantonese to him. I'm afraid he may be confused if he also learns Mandarin at CLS.

The Chinese language situation of her grandson is seen as problematic, he was not only bad at it, but also disliked speaking it. Xiao explained the reason he disliked it was because he was not good at it, but there may be other reasons behind this phenomenon. Xiao's grandson spoke English most of the time, unless speaking to people such as his grandfather who could not speak English when he would use Cantonese. He was learning Cantonese because they were originally from Cantonese (Yue) speaking areas (refer to Figure 1). His family used Cantonese, and Xiao was concerned that learning Mandarin and Cantonese at the same time might confuse her grandson. The issue of dialects was also mentioned by some of my other informants. Xiao emphasized her families' Cantonese identity in our conversation. It is not unusual for third generation Chinese migrants to lose their origin identity partially or completely. Wu reported a Hokkien (South Fujian dialect) saying among the early Chinese settlers in Malaya:

> Sa dai sheng ba - in three generations a Chinese will become a baba.[22] If a Chinese man married a Malay woman, and his son also married a Malay, it was unlikely that the grandson would maintain his Chinese language skills and practice of Chinese customs.

He further commented that new generations of migrants 'gradually give up Chinese cultural practices, adopt the native way of life, and eventually become a *peranakan* or 'native' (1991: 172) or in a Malay term, are subject to 'peranakanization' which means 'migration out of China, acculturation to an indigenous culture, and subsequent loss of one's Chinese identity' (Ibid.). This process had 'repeatedly

[22] In Malaysia and Singapore, 'native-born Chinese who have gradually lost their mother tongue and cultural characteristics…they are known as the "Straits born", or baba' (Wu 1991: 172).

occurred among Chinese migrants overseas' (1991: 173). Therefore, Xiao's concern is a sentiment many Chinese migrants have expressed. Parents are trying to deliver Chinese language skills and a sense of 'Chinese' identity, but nevertheless, the importance of learning English, the language needed to survive and prosper in their new home, is always accentuated.

May is originally from Hu Bei, China who had also lived in northern Europe for many years. She was in her 40s when I spoke with her in 2011. She speaks Mandarin, Hu Bei dialect and English. She has a Master Degree and worked as an auditor in China. Now she works as a sales person at a supermarket and does administration work at a Chinese organisation. She has a 14 years old son who had been in Northern Ireland for three years and eight months. May and her son go back to China every year so that he can learn Mandarin and visit his grandparents.

> Sha: Do you hope your son learns Chinese or only English or both?
>
> May: Of course both. Because he needs to live abroad (outside China), so English must be good. He is also a Chinese, he should not forget his mother tongue. Both languages are important. It is hard to say which one is more important.

For May, the reason for the need to learn Mandarin is simple, it is because of her son's transnational connection to China. No matter where they are, Mandarin is always his mother tongue, and knowing the language is in her view his obligation, both to his grandparents and the imagined community of 'China'. Her desire for her son to learn Mandarin then, is motivated by an emotional, partly nostalgic, partly nationalist drive. In contrast, her motivation for encouraging English learning is

entirely pragmatic. Firstly, English is the most widely used international language, which is why English is a compulsory course in China from primary school onwards. Secondly, the family is now living in an English speaking country, which means that her son needs English language skills to study, communicate, interact with schoolmates and find employment. As Jan Blommaert, professor of Linguistic Anthropology in the Department of Language and Culture Studies at Tilburg University has argued, immigrants who settle in new environments outside their homelands do not find themselves in empty socio-linguistic spaces. Instead, they are confronted with 'norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal (indexical) language use and what does not count as such' (2010: 6). While they bring 'their languages and other cultural belongings with them', they have to accommodate to the host society, especially when their separation from homeland is more permanent (Ibid.). Many of the Chinese parents I interviewed expressed concerns regarding their children's English skills.

Chinese mother Shan was one of them, she was 33 years old in 2011, and worked in a Chinese restaurant as a waitress in Belfast. She came from Liaoning province, China, and had been in Belfast for three and a half years. During three and a half years, they moved to London and stayed for one year. She is a graduate of a technical secondary school. Her son was nine years old. The son did not come to UK with his parents at first, because they wanted him to have some Chinese education in China first. In their point of view, once he comes to Belfast, it would be relatively easy to learn English and harder to teach him Mandarin. He came to Belfast during a summer holiday, and he had been in Belfast for two months when the interview was

conducted. He was going to start primary school grade four in China, and he enrolled in P5 in Belfast.

> Shan: I always think he should not forget Chinese.[23] I'd like him to continue Chinese learning. There is a big chance that we may go back to China in the future, but that comes later. On the one hand, English is part of the study; on the other hand, even foreigners are learning Chinese, we should know our own country's language better.

Most of my informants acknowledged maintaining 'Chinese' language was important, especially those who had plans to go back to China in the future; in the meantime, however, they did not want learning Chinese to affect their children's study at local schools, because local school study was equally important, in a different way. The importance of learning a Chinese language is motivated by a range of different emotions such as nostalgia, pride, guilt, family honour, or nationalism. A migrant mother may feel guilty about being far from her parents and partly therefore ask her children to learn the language to be able to communicate with the grandparents; a kind of moral obligation to counter their absence in the homeland. There is an always specific reason which may be different in each case.

Mastering Chinese language takes time: this reduces children's time for local school work. Furthermore, some children growing up in a Chinese language home environment may need extra time or help with English language as well. Which language to prioritise can constitute a dilemma for Chinese parents and children.

[23] She meant the official language Mandarin since she was from north-eastern China where the spoken language is Mandarin.

However, for some children born in Northern Ireland, with regard to their ability to speak English, they are not so different from local children.

Andy is a master of Chinese martial arts and lion dance, he is from Hong Kong originally, I have known him for about six years. We did the interview in BMC before the routine lion dance training on a Tuesday night. He guided me to a quieter empty meeting room, and was very cooperative and willing to tell me his story. Since he speaks Cantonese, and I speak Mandarin, we could not understand each other, so the interview was in English.

> Andy: I'm originally from Hong Kong, and from a city at the border of China called Sheung Shui, it's near Shen Zhen (see Picture 1). I moved here (NI) in 1981. I'm coming to 48 years old (on December 2011). I have a degree in IT with the Open University and a master degree with Queen's University. My main occupation is Chinese take away owner. My part time job is an IT lecturer. I can speak Hakka, Cantonese, English and very limited Mandarin. I have three children. The eldest one is 20, the second one is coming to 18, the youngest one is coming to 15. Two daughters and one son. They were all born in Belfast. My eldest daughter is studying at Queen's University. My son just finished school, he's not attending any further education. My youngest one is studying in Methodist College.
>
> Sha: In your mind, do you hope them to maintain Chinese culture and language?
>
> Andy: Yes, of course. Yes, especially my background is Chinese martial arts and lion dance (武术和舞狮) lecturer. I'd really love to…expect them to

understand and learn more our Chinese culture and speak more our language, but it seems to be difficult.

Figure 2. Andy's hometown: Sheung Shui, Hong Kong and the city Shenzhen in southern China.[24]

Andy has a strong desire to promote these cultural practices in the UK, regarding them as 'Chinese cultural heritage'. China has been paying attention to protecting its unique and traditional cultural heritage. In May 2006, Dragon Dance and Lion Dance were listed in the Folk Dance category of the first batch of National Intangible Cultural Heritage List published by the State Council. The application regions including Sichuan, Zhejiang and Guangdong provinces, etc. Wushu, Kungfu and Taichi, etc were also listed in the Acrobatics and Athletics category of the 'list'. The application regions including Hubei, Henan and so on.[25]

[24] 'Hong Kong, New Territories, Lantau Island, Shenzhen Map' on http://www.china-mike.com/china-travel-tips/tourist-maps/hong-kong/

[25] 国务院关于公布第一批国家级非物质文化遗产名录的通知 Notice of the publishing of the first batch of National Intangible Cultural Heritage list by State Council. Document No. 18. On official website of 中华人民共和国中央人民政府 (The Central People's Government of the People's

In the notice of the Martial Arts Centre of the General Administration of Sport in China about "Five-Year Plan of Chinese Wushu Development (2016-2020)", it stressed that according to the overall plan of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, the State Council and the General Administration of Sport and the new tasks and demands of the development of Wushu career, the Wushu Sports Management Centre of the State Sports General Administration has formulated the 'Five-Year Plan of Chinese Wushu Development (2016-2020)' [26] . In the 'introduction' of the 'Plan', it points out that Wushu is a traditional culture and sport of China; it is an important part of national fitness.

In the first section named 'General requirement', it declares this plan focuses on areas such as societal martial arts, athletic martial arts, international promotion of martial arts; martial arts culture, education, research and industry. It emphasizes three major areas which are 'traditional martial arts, athletic martial arts and martial arts industry'. It pointed out three major works which are 'martial arts education, research and promotion'. It will provide good service to three kinds of martial arts practitioners: amateur, professional and people whose career is martial arts. It will play four roles which are passing on the skills and culture of martial arts; spreading the spirit of martial arts and the concepts of healthy life.[27]

Republic of China) http://www.gov.cn/zwgk/2006-06/02/content_297946.htm. Accessed on 11/1/2017.

[26] The notice was released on 22nd July, 2016 on the official website for Chinese Wushu Association. http://www.wushu.com.cn/dzzw_xq.asp?id=105&select1=%CD%A8%D6%AA%B9%AB%B8%E6. Accessed on
11/1/2017.

[27] 中国武术发展五年规划（2016-2020 年）(Five - Year Plan of Chinese Wushu Development (2016-2020)) by Wushu Sports Management Centre of the State Sports General Administration.

In 2010, general office of the ministry of education and General office of the state sport general administration released Document Number Eight, it is a notice of promotion and implementation of a 'Wushu aerobic exercise series for primary and secondary school students in China'. In the document, it states the purpose of creating this exercise is to inherit and carry forward Chinese traditional culture and to enrich the content of physical activities during the long break time in school. It will be promoted and implemented from 1st September 2010 in ordinary primary and secondary schools (including special education schools) and secondary vocational schools. Again it stressed the high value of Wushu in Chinese culture; it is an important teaching content in Physical education of primary and secondary schools and the effective role that Wushu education plays on spreading the national spirit of China and benefits for students' physical and mental health.[28]

Andy's case also has a political dimension. Since the sovereignty of Hong Kong was transferred to the Chinese state on 1 July 1997, many Hong Kong citizens have resisted Chinese political domination and the cultural/linguistic politics that come with it. The anniversary of the handover became 'a day of mass demonstration, accompanied by banners, chants slogans, a variety of art works, videos and performances' (Jones, Carol A. G. 2015: 1). On 1 July 2014, 'almost 500,000 people took to the streets protesting against Beijing's governance of Hong Kong. A week earlier, 800,000 voted in an informal referendum for the right to freely choose their government' (Ibid.). From Hong Kong people's point of view, Hong Kong came to an 'end' in 1997 (Chu, Yiu-Wai. 2013:1-2) because they felt they had lost rights and

[28] 教育部办公厅 国家体育总局办公厅关于推广实施《全国中小学生系列武术健身操》的通知 (General office of the ministry of education and General office of the state sport general administration-Document No. 8) http://www.wushu.com.cn/dzzw_xq.asp?id=98&select1=%CD%A8%D6%AA%B9%AB%B8%E6. Accessed on 11/1/2017.

freedoms ‘associated with the liberal view of the rule of law’ (Jones, Carol A. G. 2015: 4); they considered mainland China was re-colonising Hong Kong in legal, social, cultural and economic aspects and their life had been disturbed and transformed by an increasing influx of mainland Chinese people (Jones, Carol A. G. 2015: 10-15). On the side of China, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping proposed the concept of ‘One Country, Two Systems’ in 1980s for a peaceful reunification, but its realization was doubted by Hong Kong people (Chu, Yiu-Wai. 2013: 1-2); Jones argued that complete democracy in Hong Kong is a potential threat for the Communist Party’s rule on the mainland (2015: 3).

It is necessary to look back at the history of Hong Kong and compare it to the past of Mainland China briefly to understand why there are such divergence between them with regard to politics, economics, society and their people’s outlook. Hong Kong, a vibrant, modern and highly civilized city now, used to be small farming and fishing villages before British colonial rule was established in January 1841 (Tsang, Steve Yui-Sang. 2004: 268, 273; Carroll, John Mark. 2007: 19). People could cross the border freely between mainland China and Hong Kong and they shared a lot in common before the Pacific War. Many mainlanders were ‘sojourners, economic migrants or refugees’ (Tsang, Steve Yui-Sang. 2004: 180), and they planned to go back home after their economic situation was improved and the society was stable in China until China came under the government of the Communist party in 1949. From 1950, both China and the colonial government imposed stricter border controls, the number of Chinese in Hong Kong choosing to go back to China dropped dramatically. The settled Chinese people in Hong Kong gradually developed their own identity and political culture especially from the second generation who were

born and bred in Hong Kong (Tsang, Steve Yui-Sang. 2004: 180-181). Under British colonial rule, education and culture, Hong Kong people came into contact with rule of law by the 1970s and political skills in early 1980s (Tsang, Steve Yui-Sang. 2004: 182; Zheng, Yongnian and Yew, Chiew Ping. 2013: 117). While the 'social, economic and political developments in Hong Kong' (Tsang, Steve Yui-Sang. 2004: 181) were progressing steadily, China was experience 'the worst turbulence of modern Chinese history'. Both British colonial rule and capitalist Hong Kong and Chinese communist ideology had left marks on their people. From the 1960s, the first post-war generation in Hong Kong started to pursue their own identity. These educated ethnic Chinese considered Hong Kong their home and had a sense of pride in its history (Tsang, Steve Yui-Sang. 2004:181-183; 268-269). Moreover, from the 1980s, before the handover of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China, the education and mass media in Hong Kong frequently presented negative images of mainland Chinese people and their politics (Zheng, Yongnian, Yew, Chiew Ping. 2013: 117-118) Jones (2015: 18) suggests that consciousness of Hong Kong's distinctiveness sometimes manifested in a 'sense of superiority over their mainland compatriots', and that Hong Kong people saw themselves as 'more modern, sophisticated and superior to their mainland compatriots' (Ibid.). Some of my informants in Belfast who were originally from Hong Kong had migrated to the UK prior to the handover to Chinese control due to the fear of political and social unrest.

Many Chinese traditions and customs in Hong Kong from previous generations were able to be kept and carried forward, partially due to the protection of freedom and values under the British rule (Tsang, Steve Yui-Sang. 2004: 182; 269). My informants in Belfast who were originally from Hong Kong: Andy and his lion dance

members; Chinese restaurant owner Ben and his wife, Chinese Sure Start staff et al. were all friendly to people from mainland China. However, as Yongnian Zheng and Chiew Ping Yew pointed out that there was a lack of 'natural affinity for China' (2013: 118) among Hong Kong people after the handover. Their love towards China is conditional and based on whether it can increase their own profit, for example: expanding their business opportunities in China (Ibid.). Each individual has different experiences, education and perspective, none of the extremists in Hong Kong, friendly Hong Kong immigrants or profit pursuers can represent identity and ideology of Hong Kong alone, but all these features in the dynamics of Hong Kong identity.

Andy is one of the Hong Kong immigrants who showed his passion for Chinese culture and traditions. He is also the chairman of the Dragon and Lion Dance Association Northern Ireland. In their annual publication, which introduces Chinese Lion Dance in Northern Ireland and other dance traditions, he explains 'the purpose behind teaching the Chinese Lion Dance is to make the Chinese and local communities aware of the richness of our cultural heritage, and to generate interest in this particular form of dance'. He hopes that Mandarin or Cantonese, martial arts and Lion Dance will be passed on outside China as well, both to popularise these elements of Chinese culture among the public and to make an emotional connection with the offspring of migrants from China. He organises various associations and societies, cultural events, and training sessions for the public. Students with various backgrounds including local people had learned martial arts and lion dance from him. He gained many awards related to cultural contribution (see Chapter 2).

Besides being one of the organisers for the Dragon and Lion Dance Association Northern Ireland, Andy also founded a Chinese Lion Dance society at a university from 2009. In the constitution of the society, Andy expresses its aims and objectives:

- 'Teaching of the Chinese martial art known as Hung Fut and the Chinese Dragon and Lion Dances to people of every race, religion, gender and culture.
- The spreading of good will to every segment of the community in Northern Ireland.
- Students are taught in hopes they will be able to pass on their knowledge to generations to come'.[29]

The society uses a university venue to practice and rehearse martial arts and Dragon and Lion Dances regularly. It also attracted students of the university (from NI and overseas) to join the society; some of them were very talented and also joined his association outside the university. I have been a member of this society and association since 2009.

Before annual performance events such as Chinese New Year show and 'Culture Share Festival', members will meet more frequently to practice and rehearse. Besides the venue in university, we could also meet in places like community centres. Performances from Andy's Dragon and Lion Dance association normally include Dragon and Lion dance; martial arts demonstrations; Lion Dance and martial arts drumming; traditional Chinese dance (fan, umbrella or lantern dances); or Chinese songs with dance. I have participated in most of these events and performed in

[29] Cited from the university lion dance society constitution in 2009.

Dragon and Lion dance and traditional Chinese dance. During the meetings, we learned, practiced, discussed and altered the dances Andy and an invited dance teacher created. We also had tea and snacks and chatted during the break time. It was also interesting for me to watch other members practicing their skills such as martial arts.

On the day of the events, all the members worked as a team and helped each other. Transportation of the equipment and members; costumes; make-up; Chinese food for members and audience afterwards were all arranged within the association beforehand. The team tried to put on a good show for audiences from NI and maybe around the world, because on the stage, we did not only represent the Dragon and Lion Dance Society, but also Chinese people and culture. When, inevitably, mistakes were made during events, we sought to learn from them and improve ourselves, in order to make the shows more professional next time.

After the events and all the hard work, Andy usually would invite all the members who helped the shows and organise a banquet in a restaurant to express gratitude for everyone's effort and celebrate the success of the events. These events were usually held in Chinese restaurants with Karaoke machines to which people could sing after dinner.[30] All the members would also receive red envelopes with cash in them from Andy. This was also an expression of gratitude from him. The banquets were always an enjoyable moment filled with delicious food, relaxing conversations and laughter.

[30] Singing Karaoke with friends in restaurants or KTV (Karaok TV) in China is a popular form of recreation.

The Lion Dance members created an opportunity and motive to communicate and learn from each other. Through routine and intensive meetings before the shows; cooperation and recreation within the team, members with different backgrounds and origins, some of whom may have brought opposed ideologies or political views, can share something in common rather than focusing on differences and contradictions. People within the team feel part of a big family at that moment, and displayed an image of 'Chinese diaspora' or 'one Chinese community' to outsiders. Amit and Rapport (2002: 4-5) argued that these kinds of temporal opportunities through work, leisure, education and so on created 'a sense of contextual fellowship'. They further pointed out that however, these cannot be seen as 'symbolic markers of categorical identity' (2002: 4-5). Outside of the Lion Dance Team, Andy is a father, computer science lecturer, Buddhist believer, and he used to own a Chinese take-away shop. He travels back to Hong Kong at least twice a year for business, family and Lion Dance Association activities. Interestingly, none of his children participate in his martial arts, Dragon or Lion dance activities. He told me during the interview that they were not interested in taking classes. His son only liked action movies from China, and although he offered verbal praise, saying martial arts were cool, he was not interested in participating. Whilst Andy made a great effort to promote Chinese culture, he also believed coaches and parents should not force children to do what parents like and children are not interested in. People under the temporal and contextual image of 'Chinese community' can feel a sense of distance and have different opinions on each other's ideology.

Sinn investigated the identity of Chinese immigrants in Japan and found that, especially over a longer time period, new generations of parents did not expect their

children to engage in ‘Chinese’ practices. From the 1940s to the 1970s, communities maintained a strong Chinese identity and consciousness, and paid much attention to children’s Chinese education. As time and generations went by, attitudes of Chinese immigrants towards their children’s education had changed dramatically, such that they are not so strict and forceful any more towards their children, they can listen to their children’s interests. Many new generations born in Japan had Japanese nationality. The proportion of ethnically Chinese school-age children in Japan at Chinese language school decreased significantly, the early education of Chinese children in Japan has a trend of indigenization (1998: 242-247). Change of migrant parents’ views of education can affect children’s identity.

Andy actively supports the development of Chinese culture overseas; but he does not force his children to follow his ideas. His children have freedom to accept or discard Chinese identity or to define it in multiple ways, not necessarily dominated by an urge to replicate or reinvent nationalist notions of ‘Chinese culture and heritage’. People who are very much engaged in the Lion Dance Association, Lion Dance Society and also the CLS in Belfast, however, have more sense of being part of a diasporic group which is not just an imagined group, because they are actively participating in creating community. There is actual sociality through dance practice and teaching and learning schedules. Amit and Rapport remarked that:

> Many other people fashion a sense of more collective fellowship through mundane daily opportunities for consociation, circumstances variously of work, leisure, being neighbours, education and more. In the course of these opportunities, people may come to attach names to familiar faces, share experiences and so establish a sense of contextual fellowship […]. They may

> come to feel that, at least for a time, they have something in common (2002: 4-5).

In my Chinese class, pupils with better Chinese language skills and claimed themselves Chinese usually had more supportive and stricter parents outside the classroom. They spent longer times with their Chinese education out of school hours. Pupils in my class with poorer language skills usually claimed themselves British or Irish, their parents were usually too busy to spend sufficient time on their Chinese learning. To a large extent, by acknowledging one's own identity, it can motivate the person to know and learn its own culture and language, and vice versa, i.e. by learning and knowing origin countries' culture and language, one's identity will be fortified and becomes prominent. The following example demonstrates a productive way in which a mother motivated her daughter to learn Mandarin, increasing her identification as a 'Chinese' person. Interestingly, she was not from mainland China but from Singapore, showing that, at least in the context of the Northern Irish situation, her identity as ethnic Chinese was stronger than her Singaporean identity.

Singapore mother Yang was 42 years old. She lives in Lisburn, Northern Ireland, and she works in a supermarket. She speaks English, Mandarin, Cantonese and a little Hakka. Her husband is from Belfast. Although he had made some attempt to learn Chinese, he had found it very difficult and due to time constraints, had made little progress.

> Yang: Kimberly asked me one time: why must I learn Chinese? I told her so you can tell people directions in Chinese when elder Chinese people are asking you. They are old and do not know English, if they are asking you I'd like to go

> to a hospital, or in hospital they need an interpreter, at least you can help. I hope she is not like only have yellow skin but really she is white inside, in another word, she has yellow people's appearance, but do not know Chinese at all. I do not know if they understand this or not.

The daughter has half Chinese descent, and only judging from her appearance, strangers may assume she is Chinese and understands Chinese language, as her mother said she has 'yellow skin', this is her Chinese identity superficially. This is an interesting theme of one's contrast between physical appearance and cultural identification. It is also similar to Andy's children who I discussed earlier in the chapter. People with this kind of feature were described as 'banana people', and the expression is popular among Chinese people in China and overseas. Chinese linguist Dechun Wang noted that the expression was first used by Taiwanese meaning 'westernized Chinese descendants'. According to him, this discourse had an implication of ridicule and mockery, and it reflected a social and cultural phenomenon. He stated 'banana people' symbolised vividly a small number of people who had yellow skin but had western ideology and ways of thinking. Wang also mentioned its similarity with 'red apple' in English which indicated Native American people who were 'white inside' (2002: 151). On the website founded by the organ of the Chinese Communist Party –T he People's Daily, an article discussed this topic: 'banana people' had expanded its meaning from American-born Chinese to second and third generations of Chinese migrations overseas. The article asserted that 'banana people' had received western education. Their way of thinking and values were no different from those of western people, but might not have been accepted by their parents. 'Banana people' might therefore disagree with parents' way of thinking and lifestyle. A focus of such disputes could be degree of

recognition of Chinese culture. Parents who received traditional Chinese education hoped their children would understand both Chinese and western culture and languages. However, 'banana people' were growing up in western environments, lacking firsthand experience of authentic Chinese culture, which made it difficult for them to understand it.[31] The article suggested that this can cause a dilemma for both Chinese parents and children overseas. 'Banana people' might feel confused about their identity and be marginalized in both Chinese and western society without sufficient guidance from their parents (中国华侨历史学会 2008: 6; 34).

In answering her daughter's question about reasons to learn Mandarin, Yang revealed an important cultural assumption. She focused on the necessity to assist elderly Chinese people who were seeking help. This is not only because elderly Chinese may lack of English language skills, but because respect for the elderly is embedded in Chinese culture. In China, children are taught from an early age that they should 'respect the aged and cherish the young'.[32] So if an elderly person genuinely needs help, young people should offer help even before being asked. At this moment, if Kimberly did not know a Chinese language, she could not help them, and it would violate this cultural tradition. In this way, Kimberly was encouraged not only to learn Chinese language but also to accept the Chinese cultural norm of duty towards elderly people. Yang thus educates her daughter so that she will not only have Chinese identity superficially, but also intrinsically.

[31] '海外華人子女：從"香蕉人"到"芒果人" 人民网' http://edu.people.com.cn/BIG5/6091017.html, accessed 12 January 2017.

[32] This concept in China was derived from ancient Chinese philosophers. One was Mencious (372 – 289 BC). In his work 'King Hui of Liang: Part One': 'Expand the respect of the aged in one's family to that of other families; expend the love of the young ones in one's family to that of other families'.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the close relationship between cultural and linguistic practice and identity. Scholars from the linguistic field have demonstrated a link between linguistic behaviours and identities. In my fieldwork, migrant parents and other informants acknowledged that language learning and use is playing an important role in claiming and informing one's origin and identity. Pupils' Chinese language practice appears to be proportionate to their claims of Chinese identity. Parents often encourage their children to learn Chinese in order to appropriate their Chinese origin and tradition; as well as for the practical purposes of communicating with Chinese people; learning Chinese culture and ideology through literature and improving their sense of belonging. While Chinese migrants are learning or using the same language or practicing martial arts or Lion Dance, an image of 'Chinese diaspora' or 'Chinese community' is presented to the broader public, demonstrating that people within the group shared something in common. However, this identity is not a complete image or permanent label of 'Chinese identity', there are individual differences and choices of languages and what they represent. For example, migrants originally from Hong Kong preferred to learn Cantonese and they claimed their identity as Hong Kong people rather than Chinese. In regard to generational differences of migrants on inheriting parents' languages and traditional customs, there may be difficulties and dilemmas for both parents and children. The next chapter will look at the dynamics in migrant family environments and explore the workings of these connections between language learning and identity.

Chapter 5. Linguistic identity in the domestic environment

Introduction

This chapter explores the ways in which diasporic Chinese linguistic identities are expressed and practiced, specifically focusing on parents' perceptions and actions in the home environment. Further drawing on Amit and Rapport's arguments about identity formation and community making, the analysis zooms in on the impact of individual life trajectories and changing social networks on language learning. Of specific interest is the transformation of linguistic behaviour and identity at the age when children enter school education, and widen their experience beyond the domestic environment. This chapter further explores the motivations behind parents' (at times failing) efforts to pass on language skills to the next generation.

5.1 Parents' experience in China: personal factors

Parents' reasons for leaving China to emigrate need to be investigated when exploring issues around linguistic continuity across generations as the intensity of post-migration transnational connections may influence their motivation to pass on language skills. Martin and Zurcher (2008) divided the reasons for migration into two categories: economic and non-economic. Lee (1966: 49-50) distinguished four factors: 'firstly, factors associated with the area of origin; secondly, factors associated with the area of destination; thirdly, intervening obstacles and finally, personal factors'. He defined the personal factors as 'factors which affect individual thresholds and facilitate or retard migration' (1966: 51). These factors may recur constantly throughout one's life cycle or may be associated with different stages of life (1966: 51).

During interviews, my informants did not talk much about economic push factors that might have led to their decision to leave China. I formed the impression that this reluctance to speak of negative factors in their home country was caused by embarrassment. In 'Laws of Migration', Ravenstein stressed economic motives for migratory flows. He argued that:

> [b]ad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to "better" themselves in material respects' (II: 286).

Two examples from my interviews illustrate this complexity. Meng, in her forties, is originally from Inner-Mongolia, China. It has been seven years since she moved to Northern Ireland, arriving in 2005. She obtained a Master's degree in English-Chinese/Chinese-English translation in Belfast, after which she worked as an interpreter. Her older son was twenty years old and studied at a local university. The younger son was born in Northern Ireland and was six years old at the time of my fieldwork. We conducted the interview at her home. Meng did not feel very comfortable with my recorder, so I only took notes. She made tea for me and cooked supper for us afterwards. As a reciprocation, I brought them to my house that night for a short while and then to a Chinese Lion Dance training session. They saw some Chinese martial arts and Lion Dance practice and Meng's son enjoyed learning a few martial art stances.

Meng told me the reason she had left home was because she had some unhappy experiences and disagreements with her family in China, so did not plan to go back in the near future. She would consider going back when her younger son grew older. Her reason for leaving home to a foreign country was non-economic and of a personal nature. Because she had poor relationships with her family at home, her sons did not have the experience of visits to China. They lived and grew up in an English speaking country, which made learning Mongolian or Mandarin difficult for them compared to other children who did spend time in China.

Another informant was Hao, whose husband had a work visa as a doctor of Chinese medicine. Hao had followed him to Northern Ireland six months after his arrival in 2004. Unlike Meng, Hao travelled frequently to China and ongoing links to her family and home country motivated her to pass on her language skills to her two daughters: sixteen and two years old. She was herself a teacher in CLS which facilitated this process. The older sister had lived in Japan and China before moving to NI. She had lived in Northern Ireland for six years. The younger daughter was born in Northern Ireland.

The interview was conducted in Hao's home. The two daughters were in the room where we conducted the interview. They were sitting on the sofa playing together with some toys around them. After a while, the younger daughter began to make noise, so the older sister took her to another room. Hao mentioned that she did not have a good impression of China, especially the last time she went back. The only reason they visited China was because her parents were still alive. They visited them once every one or two years. She said if her parents passed away, maybe she would

not go back to China for a long time or so often. One of the reasons she encouraged her daughters to learn Mandarin was to communicate with her parents and relatives in China. The motivation for the older daughter to learn Mandarin was more from her own interests. She had been through two and a half years of primary school education in China. She liked to watch Chinese films based on Chinese literature classics and to read the original books. Moreover, Mandarin was the language spoken in the home, although the entire family except for the younger daughter could also speak Japanese. Hao's transnational link with China, then, was not very strong and could easily weaken if her relatives in China passed away.

Although Meng and Hao had different experiences of life in China, and for both, their ties to their home country were tenuous to some degree, both still wished their children to learn a Chinese language and made an effort to facilitate this. In practice, this was easier for Hao, who still had significant links to China and who taught in CLS than it was for Meng, who was alienated from her family in China.

The above shows that, to understand Chinese children's language learning motives and habits, it is important to explore their parents' immigration history and transnational family connections. These experiences affected parents' way of thinking and opinions towards China and its languages, and impacted their children's exposure to Mandarin, Cantonese or other Chinese languages. Especially in their early years of life, children's learning processes are primarily dependent on the efforts of their parents.

5.2 Parents' conceptions of the Chinese education system

In my research, I found that many of the parents of migrant children had quite negative opinions regarding school education in China and in some cases, this was a push factor that contributed to their decision to leave China. These opinions partially arose from their own experience in school; partially from second hand experience and news reports, and in some cases from their children's learning experience in schools in China prior to migration. Most of my informants made some negative comments regarding the Chinese education system, often comparing it unfavourably to western education. The following three examples demonstrate this:

Yi is my cousin's aunt. She and her two sons are now living in Shenzhen, China. They are already Canadian citizens, and her two sons studied in Canada first. While they stayed at my parents' house for a week for a holiday, I got her permission to interview her and her two sons. She had a university degree, and she is a full time housewife now. It has been more than twelve years since she went abroad. She can speak fluent English and she can understand most of the conversations in Cantonese. Her older son is fourteen and the younger one is eleven years old.

> S: Later they went to Chinese school (in China)…?
>
> Yi: Later they went to Chinese public school, the education system is totally Chinese. Children have lots of school work, they study hard. Like my older son, now he is in middle school Grade Two, and the schedule is very tight, because there are too many lessons and books, his school bag is very heavy, but I can see that he can deal with it. Maybe because he doesn't need much time in English and he's good at math, but his grade ranking is not very good in his class. It's because his Chinese literature had low

> marks. No matter how hard he worked, his Chinese basics are still not very good. Because he finished primary school Grade Four in Canada and came back to China and continued Chinese Grade Five. His primary school foundation knowledge is not very good.

This mother stressed the heavy burden on Chinese students' shoulders. Students are under huge pressure in school from a young age: children in kindergartens in China already start to learn curriculums including maths, Chinese literature and English. Even if they work hard and try their best, children could still fail to reach parents', teachers' or their own expectations. Not only this, many parents think there are problems in Chinese school education.

Lun is an informant and friend from Taiwan, now a student at the University of Ulster. He attained a Bachelor's Degree in Chinese Language and Literature in Taiwan before becoming a roller skating coach there. He has two children, aged twelve and ten years old. Both went to local schools after they moved to Northern Ireland. Lun taught adults Mandarin in CLS, but his own children did not go to CLS, because Lun and his wife taught them Mandarin at home. At the time of the interview, they had been living in Belfast for four years. They planned to go back to Taiwan in the future but would also consider staying and working in Northern Ireland for some time if he could find a good job. I interviewed Lun in his house on a Sunday afternoon after CLS and he invited me to have dinner afterwards. His house was quite close to my flat, and when I arrived there, he was preparing dinner ingredients in the kitchen. His wife was a PhD student and she was upstairs studying. His two children were upstairs in their own rooms.

During the interview, Lun told me that 'in Taiwan, the knowledge (in schools) is learned basically for exams'. This is also common in mainland China. Zhou stated that 'the educational system in China is characterised by a test-based or exam-oriented education (应试教育 – *ying shi jiao yu)*' (2008:55). Although the Chinese government has determined to reform and switch the education from exam oriented to quality education (素质教育 – *su zhi jiao yu*), the exam results are still an important factor for teachers and parents when monitoring a student's progress and making judgements about their education. So this educating style still exists.

Another informant based in China, was my cousin Ling who has a Bachelor's degree in Interior Design and operates a renovation company. Her son is two years old, and she planned to send him abroad to study in the future. Ling speaks Mandarin which is her mother tongue and basic English. Her son has already started going to a Chinese Early Learning Centre in China. It had two lessons each week. She has bought some children's learning electronic learning devices for her son, and he has already learned some English letters. She wants him to learn English early, so study will be easier for him later in school. We did the interview in her house when I was in China.

> Ling: I think the education in China has some problems, so I plan to send him abroad.
>
> Sha: What problems do you think it has?
>
> Ling: I think lots of things learned in school were useless in society or for your work. I'd like him to have more practice. Going abroad can toughen people.

Many Chinese parents in China start children's education as early as possible. There is even a popular slogan about this: 'Don't let children lose at the starting line', although there are criticisms of this attitude, it is one that many parents adopt, especially because the population in China is massive and the competition is intense. Many Chinese parents in Northern Ireland criticised this system. As the interviews above show, in China some people also question the rigid system.

The National Institute of Education Sciences has focused on ten issues in education of China. The tenth topic among them was how to reduce the academic burden of primary and middle school students. The article pointed out that this academic burden on primary and middle school students includes: 'schoolwork, activity, psychological, physical and mental and multiple burdens'.[33] The phenomenon 'had not been changed in the last three decades since the Reform and Opening-up of China; even though there were constant reforms of the college entrance exam system by the government' (Ibid.). It further explained that the reasons behind this phenomenon were talent selection and the competitive examination system which was driven by the extreme competitive pressure of the labour market. The academic burden in the educational system is the product of these kinds of competitive mechanisms which ultimately result from increased social stratification. As long as this social stratification exists, people will want to obtain scarce high quality educational resources through the talent selection and examination system, to enable them to compete effectively in the employment market in order to enter higher economic strata – or escape the lower strata.

[33]中国教育科学研究院. 2012. '我国当前十大教育热点问题研究' (Current top ten topics in education in China), on official website for 中国教育科学研究院 (National Institute of Education Sciences). (http://www.nies.net.cn/cb/bg/201203/t20120331_303506.html, accessed 20 January 2017).

Jiang Kai identified a close relationship between education and social stratification, noting:

> Competition in education tends to be more intense in countries and regions with strong social class structures and pyramid-style educational structures, which have distinct gradations and deeply rooted examination cultures. For example, there is fierce competition in the schools of Japan, South Korea, Singapore, mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, as well as at the basic education stage in the United Kingdom (2012: 9).

The 'Current top ten topics in education in China' argued that the 'traditional value of talent and the utilitarian oriented value of education is the ideological basis of producing excessive academic burdens. The internal cause of students' excessive burden is the low quality education' (National Institute of Education Sciences 2012).

The outline of the Chinese Education Reform and Development published in 1993 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council stated explicitly that primary and middle school education should transform from exam-oriented education to improve the overall quality of the citizens, in other words toward quality-oriented education. Students should develop skills comprehensively, include the improvement of ideology and morality, cultural science, working skills and physical and mental qualities.[34] In 1997, the State Education Committee held a conference on the experience exchange of primary and middle school 'quality-

[34] 中共中央、国务院(the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the State Council). 1993. '中国教育改革和发展纲要 No. 3', on official website of 中华人民共和国教育部 (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China). (http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_177/200407/2484.html, accessed 21 January 2017).

education'. It marked the promotion of quality-oriented education in schools of China (State Education Committee 1997).

Whilst the original intention and purpose of this reform was positive, there were difficulties in applying it in practice, and competition in education still exists, and to some extent, it may even have become worse. One of the three characteristics of excessive competition in Chinese education pointed out by Kai was that besides normal curriculums, students were pressured to learn 'special capabilities' in English, Mathematical Olympiad, and arts or physical education' (2012: 10). Even the burden on teachers and schools' has become heavier as schools have sought to use 'special capabilities' to maintain or increase their enrolment rates (Ibid.). Kai also commented that this excessive competition in China has even become distorted. Students' increased academic burden caused 'extended study time, a severe shortage of sleep, a lack of physical exercise, and a decrease in physical fitness'. This situation has been moving from 'the year of graduation in junior and senior high schools' to 'the lower grades of middle school, the primary school, even kindergarten' (2012: 9).

My informant Ling also mentioned the impractical learning in Chinese schools, this is a result of 'exam oriented education' too. Students learn knowledge and to answer questions only for passing the exams and getting higher marks. As a result, lack of basic living skills (eg. cooking, banking, writing a CV and applying for jobs) is common among young students. These facts can become factors pushing parents and their children to seek better education abroad. Compared to Chinese school education, western countries have a series of pull factors in regard to its education.

For instance, relatively less burden and pressure on younger students and more practical learning. More and more people choose to go abroad to study or send their children to study abroad, which is referred to as ‘going abroad fever’ or ‘overseas-study fever’ by Chinese news media. As long as the economic condition of Ling’s family allows, she will not miss the chance to send her son to study abroad.

5.3 Parents’ expectations towards children’s language learning

In China, it is parents’ responsibility to support their children’s study, and naturally, they have expectations towards their study no matter where or what they are studying. Dr. Yanyu Zhou from the Confucius Institute at Maryland discussed the relationship between parents’ educational expectation and students’ school performance.

> They believe if parents have high educational expectation for their child, the student will do a better job in school. Conversely, low expectation from parents will result in a poor academic outcome for their children. That is because parents who value education more will pay more attention to their children’s schooling. Also, they will provide more support to their children in school and create a better learning environment at home (2008: 16).

The following examples are extracted from the interviews. They are in relation to parents’ expectations towards children’s language learning.

> Sha: Do you wish them to learn all the languages? Like English, Hakka, Cantonese or even Mandarin?
>
> Andy: Oh I would really love them to learn Mandarin. I think Mandarin is a must learn language nowadays…

People from Hongkong mainly speak Cantonese, and they write traditional Chinese characters. Since Mandarin is the official language in China, more and more people in Hong Kong have started to learn and use Mandarin, including Andy, who was not only interested in learning Mandarin himself but had expectations that his children would learn Mandarin.

Pei, a thirty-nine years old Malaysian Chinese woman, also talked about her expectations towards her daughters' Mandarin learning. She had been living in Northern Ireland for five or six years. Her daughters were born here and they are five, seven and nine years old. Because she grew up in Malaysia, thus she knows many languages. She can speak and write Mandarin, Cantonese, Fuzhou dialect, Malaysian and English. I interviewed Pei, whose daughters were with her, at my home after Sunday Chinese school, because she lived half an hour's drive from Belfast.

> Sha: What level do you want them to reach? Will they sit Chinese GCSE exams?
>
> Pei: …From my own experience, it's very hard to master two languages at the same time…
>
> Just let them learn. Some students in CLS already learned more than 10 years. If they learned enough at that time, they can sit the exam.

Meng, who I introduced earlier in the chapter, expected her son to take Chinese exams up to GCSE and A Level in Northern Ireland too. Hao and Lun talked about this in more detail:

> Sha: What language (Mandarin) level do you wish them to reach?

Hao: Listening, speaking and reading should have no problem. I don't have high requirement for writing. Even I forget certain characters sometimes. If the younger one can reach her sister's level, such as being able to read classical Chinese texts, that would be better…

Sha: If you'll stay here, will it be necessary to learn Chinese?

Lun: Still need to learn. It is enough with general communicative Chinese reading and writing. Don't need those very deep ones for the exams…

Pei and Meng set a goal for their children to reach which is taking the Chinese GCSE or A- level and obtaining these qualifications. Hao's daughter had already taken the Chinese GCSE exam. It is relatively easy for Chinese students to pass Chinese GCSE or get a good result, and this skill can make them more competitive when they apply to universities in UK, so most parents choose to let their children to take this exam. Parents understand it is hard for their children to master Chinese in an English language environment, so usually they do not expect their Chinese level to be as good as Chinese children who are studying in China.

5.4 Parents' expectations towards children's future careers

Many migrant Chinese parents' expectations regarding their children's Chinese language level were similar to Hao's: they hoped their children would understand basic Chinese and would be able to communicate with Chinese people. In their opinion, this skill will be especially beneficial for the children when they are looking for jobs in the future. These children's changing network is part of the social process, which is different from but perhaps sometimes overlapping with diasporic networking and community making. Before finding a career, their network was

mainly with local school teachers, students and friends who spoke English and parents who spoke Chinese or English. When they started working, if the work was in local institutions or companies, they might still use English; but if it was in a Chinese speaking environment such as mainland China or Hong Kong, or required Chinese language competence, these Chinese descendants might change their ideas regarding Chinese languages and 'Chinese community'. The following parents expressed their expectations towards children's future careers:

> Sha: Do you wish them to do certain careers or jobs related to China or Hong Kong in the future?
>
> Andy: I do, I do expect in the future their career would have a link with Hong Kong or China, because, at the end of the day, China and Hong Kong's economy is the second strongest in the world and you can see China is still shooting up the economy, still keep going up, it's a big potential to develop your own business or find a better job (with) better pay in China and Hong Kong, so I'd really expect them to develop a link eventually in the future or in the near future. I'll encourage them to learn more Chinese and E-commerce, say you can communicate with your companies through the Internet, you know, you don't need to be there, but you can interact through internet technology, you can actually go online and you can see each others' faces, and you can communicate with them that way. On the other hand, the language skill is very important especially for them to find a job, like international companies, so you can do work, develop links with other companies worldwide…

Hao expressed similar expectations about work that has links with China, but she also stressed the work place would not be in China. This might relate to her experience in China before, which was introduced earlier in the chapter:

Sha: Did you think about what they would do in the future?

Hao: I don't hope they go back to China to work. They will stay in UK, but if there are companies doing business with China, maybe they have an advantage in languages. No matter in China or here, it all involves competition for jobs after graduation. Under the same circumstances, you have more advantages in the competition if you can speak one more language.

Andy and Hao understand that with their children's extra Chinese language ability, they would be more competitive in applying for jobs at International companies. So they both foresaw their children working in areas that had links with China. Some other parents I interviewed did not mention exact direction for their children's future career:

Meng: It depends on them. The older son (twenty years old) grew up in China before fifteen years old, so he can compare two countries, but the younger one was born here and he never went back to China. His world is here, maybe when he's older, he may not like China.

Sha: Have you thought about what they would do in the future?

Pei: They are still very young. I just think they should build a good foundation at this age. Give them a good chance to learn and see what they are interested to do, let themselves choose.

S: Did you think about what they will do in the future?

Lun: As they wish. They will be serious about it if they like it. It's useless to force them to do something they don't like.

Meng, Pei and Lun's ideas are to let their children develop their own interests and decide what to do in the future, but no matter what jobs they do, it is important to 'build a good foundation at this stage', as Pei said. The reason why it is important will be explained in the last section.

5.5 Parents as the first teacher - diasporic families' language environment

Bourdieu argued that habitus can produce 'thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions' (Bourdieu 1995: 95). In Chinese migrant families, parents speak Chinese languages with their children, sometimes purposely, and sometimes unconsciously. As Amit and Rapport noted individuals knew immediately, clearly and certainly from their sense derived from their firsthand experience (2002: 131). Different language preferences and abilities can represent individual differences which can be affected by each person's experience. Children grow up in a home language environment and gradually learn to understand and speak the same languages at home. Because English becomes their first language when they start school education in Northern Ireland, their language usage transforms and they feel more comfortable and confident talking in English most of the time, especially with their peers. You will find such examples in the following interview extracts.

> Sha: What languages do your children use at home?
>
> Andy: To parents, my son and my youngest daughter still speak 95% English. My eldest daughter maybe speak 70% English, 30% in Hakka. She can speak a little bit more than her brother and sister.

> Sha: What languages do you use at home?

Pei: We talk English at home most of the time. Now we begin to talk more Mandarin sometimes. It was hard at the beginning, because they didn't have much vocabulary. It was hard for them to talk. They understand more now. I think it takes time. They talk English among themselves most of the time. The older daughter now tried to talk Mandarin when I talked Mandarin to her, not very fluent, but she made progress.

Meng: I speak Mandarin to them at home. I have the consciousness to intensify their Mandarin. The younger son (six years old) can't talk Mandarin well. When he didn't know a word, I explained to him in Mandarin, but he wanted me to explain it in English again. He talked to his peers in English naturally. His games are all in English too. If he asks how to say those words in Mandarin from games, we wouldn't know either.

Sha: What languages do you use at home?

Lun: Of course Mandarin, because my English is not good. Even if I speak English to them, they think my pronunciation is not standard. They don't like to talk to me in English. But from another angle it is a benefit too.

Sha: They can understand your Mandarin conversations without any problems, right?

Lun: Yes, most of the time. They talk English with their Mum sometimes… Some children (in Chinese Language School) can listen and understand or guess out what you meant, when you ask them to speak it out, they felt uncomfortable to say it. He/she thinks it's uncomfortable to answer questions or speak in Mandarin. The better the parents speak English, the worse their children's Chinese would be. Some parents can speak Chinese, but their English is too good, when the children talked English to them since they were small, they answered in English right away, it's too direct. If you don't care, although you understand English, you just use Chinese to

> answer, and you require your child to answer in Chinese, after some time, the child knows he/she can only use Chinese to communicate with you, not English. If the child knows he/she can talk English with you, then he/she won't use Chinese. They don't need Chinese, they will think it's redundant. Especially when they were very small, you have to enforce it. Then they will have a habit of using the language. Only when they grow bigger and understand things, you accept them using English. So the mode of using two languages can be built. Otherwise if you want to build a mode of using Chinese to communicate, and parents' English is good, your children would know you can communicate in English, why do they use Chinese?
>
> Sha: You speak Mandarin at home?
> Hao: Yes, I don't talk English at home. My English pronunciation is not very standard. So just let children learn English from local people…

From these examples, we can see parents consciously use Chinese languages at home. In part this may because their English is not standard, but more importantly, in this way, they create a Chinese language environment for their children, which is rare in an English-speaking country. Thus they can 'enforce' communication in Chinese. As sociologist Norbert Elias stated:

> No individual person, no matter how great his stature, how powerful his will, how penetrating his intelligence, can breach the autonomous laws of the human network from which his actions arise and into which they are directed (1991: xxi-xxii).

Children's social network at home is constituted by their family members, so children's way of thinking and talking will inevitably be affected by parents.

According to Amit and Rapport (2002: 5): ‘these forms of consociation are often partial, ephemeral, specific to and dependent on particular contexts and activities. And, in many cases, they will not be marked with strong symbolic markers of categorical identity’. Children’s language choices, usage and identity are not static, they change as a result of different contexts and social networks. Before starting school education, children’s language acquisition comes mainly from parents at home: once they have started school, they have to master English in order to study and communicate with teachers, classmates and local friends, but when they go home, they enter a different language environment again. At this point, their language starts to switch.

‘Code switching’ among family members

British linguist Wei Li noted that choice of language (in my research: English/Mandarin/Cantonese/other Chinese dialects) can be ‘an “act of identity” for individual speakers’ (1994: 2). Professor of Applied Linguistics and Communication from the University of London, Hua Zhu argued that ‘code-switching’ indicated a challenge by migrants’ children’s to their parents’ positions and authority in the family (2008: 1811). In my own experience, there are such moments of identity and authority expression through linguistic practices, but there are also moments when code-switching is unintentional or simply more convenient, or allows more confident choices of expressions or language fragments. As the following section shows, the motivation for code-switching depends on the context, content and purpose of the conversation, and interlocutors.

From interviews and also my visits to informants' families, I had chances to hear that both parents and their children in diasporic families switch languages.

Sha: Do they talk to you in Mandarin too?

Hao: Depending on words. Sometimes my older daughter talks about things in school, subjects, activities and exams in school, she doesn't know how to say them in Mandarin, so she only uses English. It's a mixture of Mandarin and English. Some words like GCSE, in Mandarin there are no relevant words for it. So sometimes there can be problems of switching. I can understand this kind of mixing.

Sha: Were there any particular moments they switched languages even if the person they were talking to didn't?

Yi: This is very common. For example, in Cantonese, there are many English words. When Hongkong people say, in Cantonese: did you eat lunch? 'Lanchee' is from English. I'm very used to this too. I like to read English books very much. Maybe it became a habit after more than ten years. I joined a book club in International Women's club (in Canada). We read a book every month, and we chose one day to bring our own food, and talked about this book. So this was a western women's environment. There were not many Chinese friends except neighbours (in China). I have some Chinese friends, but they also came back from Canada, New Zealand or England, so they all had both English and Chinese backgrounds. So I talk English unconsciously sometimes, unless I know you don't know any English, then I'll talk to you in Chinese. Sometimes some words can't be expressed well, we choose whichever language that is more convenient.

Lun: … For example: my neighbour's child. I think his Mum's English is too good. I told her you should try to speak Chinese with your child at home, not English, even

> remind your child: Chinese is a secret language between yourselves. If you are outside sometimes in the future, and there are foreigners around, and there are some words inconvenient to say, you can whisper in Chinese, so Mum knows. And you don't need to be afraid of others hearing it. It is more likely to encourage your child to speak Chinese this way…

Hua Zhu noted that the direction of code-switching was unpredictable, and it was a signal to 'indicate whether the speaker intended to converge or diverge from the previous speaker's code choice and thus served as a device to dominate the interaction' (2008: 1801). From the interview materials, we can see that code-switching can indeed be unpredictable. However, it is not always the case that the speaker wanted to dominate the interaction by code-switching. Usually, people switch words or fragments into another language in the sentences. Sometimes only because they did not know how to express them in certain languages, or it became a habitual way of speaking in the region. It also depends on the person to whom they are talking and the situation, such as in Yi and Lun's examples. Parents and children all accept this kind of switching. In Senior Lecturer in Education, Paul A. Singh Ghuman's research with Indo-Canadian adolescents, eighty percent of students speak both English and Punjabi (English/ Hindi) at home; Hindi/Punjabi is spoken with parents whereas English is widely used with siblings and friends (1995: 226). This is a similar situation to that of Chinese young people in Northern Ireland. Associate Professor Benjamin Bailey from the Department of Communication, University of Massachusetts connected different generation Dominican Americans with social networks and identity. He argued that the first-generation's social networks were limited to Dominicans and co-ethnics while the second-generation had started to socialize with Dominican family networks and also 'American neighbourhoods,

schools, and part-time jobs' (2002: 12). Their language usage and their identities will be affected by their social networks. Similar situation exists within Chinese diasporic families in Northern Ireland: second generation children expand their social networks beyond their families when they go to local schools and colleges, this inevitably affects their language usage, habits and choices. At this point, it is important to refer to individual children's stage of life and trajectory; he or she cannot simply be labelled as of 'Chinese descent' or from 'Chinese community' with the assumption that they are familiar with Chinese culture, fluent in Chinese languages or prefers Chinese ways of thinking and acting. Rapport has commented that individuals with idiosyncratic life trajectories have choices to attach and belong to one or more cultures rather than cultures deciding individuals' membership. Individuals also have 'the right to resist and opt out of the norms and expectations of particular social and cultural groupings and chart their own course' (2002: 108-109).

Besides learning Chinese in a school environment such as CLS, home was another location of learning in which parents played the role of teachers. The next section examines the efforts made by parents to help with their children's Chinese learning.

Parents' actions in helping with children's language learning

Compared with western parents, Chinese parents are known for being more demanding, strict and authoritative. This can be related to different cultural background and history. One example of such Chinese style parenting is the 'Tiger Mother' Amy Chua: a professor in law at Yale University. Chua's (2011) book, '*Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*' caused wide discussion and debate on her extreme Chinese way of parenting. When analysing Chua's ways of parenting, Gwen Dewar

from the University of Michigan whose research focused on 'the evolutionary origins of intelligence, social learning, and teaching'[35] stated that 'parents who set high standards tend to have kids who are more successful at school. It is also clear that Chinese parents tend to spend more time pushing their kids to study, practice, and achieve' (2011). This way of strict parenting is debatable; but there appears to be evidence for links between this kind of parenting and children's success. For example, the highly successful young Chinese pianist Langlang had very strict parents who made his musical career their priority. In order to learn piano from better teachers, his father brought him to bigger cities meaning his mother was unable to see him for years. His father insisted that in this way, Langlang could concentrate on piano playing and improve his skills. Professor Yong Zhao, at the University of Oregon, and Wei Qiu who is based at Webster University, Missouri stated that: 'Chinese Americans are overrepresented in many of the nation's elite universities' (2009). Besides all the compulsory subjects in schools, Chinese diasporic parents also paid attention to the inheritance of their native Chinese languages.

The following interview extracts demonstrate how parents help their children to learn Chinese in diasporic home environments. Besides arranging children's Chinese school education, they also teach them Chinese at home and help with their CLS homework. Many parents bring all kinds of Chinese learning materials to Northern Ireland. In order to let children experience more Chinese culture, they bring their children to Chinese themed cultural events and organise trips to China.

[35] 'About Gwen Dewar- Founder and author of Parenting Science'. (http://www.parentingscience.com/about-me.html, accessed 23 October 2012).

Chinese language school arrangements

CLS recruits children from the age of five. Many Chinese parents sent their children to the school at a very young age, some even starting while they are only four years old.

> Sha: When did they start to learn Chinese in CLS?
>
> Pei: This one (the nine years old girl) was a bit late, about seven years old. This one (the seven years old girl) started at age five. The youngest one (the five years old girl) will start this September.

Hao told me about her plans for her two daughters, sixteen and two years old, to go to CLS.

> Hao: The older daughter already took Mandarin GCSE exam. It was easy for her because she finished first term of Grade Three in China before, and I have been teaching her with Chinese text books from China according to her age. So she finished primary school Chinese language and literature and math. Chinese text books of junior school are reading books for her. I want her to sit Mandarin AS or A Level exam next year. She has been out of China for eight years, she needs to revise again. Her Mandarin listening, speaking and reading has no problem now, but she always forgets characters when writing. So next year, I will register her for exams through CLS, and I will have to pay study fees at CLS. Thus if she is interested, she can go spend some time there, it is not that necessary to learn Chinese at CLS for her, because I can teach her at home. CLS would just give her a language environment.
>
> As for the younger daughter, similarly, when she is five years old, I will let her go and have some contact with other Chinese peers, two hours a week, have a Chinese

> language environment, have fun at CLS and make friends, just like other kids. I think she might be one of those naughty pupils and troublemaker, but I won't discipline her.

Many Chinese parents are keen to send their children to CLS, because it is a social space and network with a Chinese language and culture environment. Besides learning the language and knowledge about China, children can also build a social network with other Chinese migrant children of the same age and similar background. Parents can also communicate with other Chinese migrant teachers and parents. The organisation provides a time and venue for Chinese migrants to learn and share knowledge and experiences. It displays an image of the 'Chinese diaspora' or 'Chinese community'. However, despite this 'unified image', some parents do not completely agree with the education at CLS because of the many disadvantages and limitations which will be discussed in the next chapter, and they are using their own methods to teach children Chinese languages at home.

Parents' personal teaching methods

Parents have different ideas about when their children should start at CLS, but they often start practicing Chinese language with them before they go to school. In this section I am discussing teaching methods that parents have either invented themselves or developed in reaction to homework given by CLS.

Pei always accompanies her younger daughter in the CLS classes and sometimes the older one too. She told me because she lived outside Belfast, after driving them to the Sunday school, she had nowhere to go unless she went shopping, which she did not much enjoy. She thought it was better to accompany her daughters to study, because

they are still very young and she can help and supervise them in the class. Many parents also speak Chinese with their children at home, as well as actually teaching them the language.

> Meng: …It's hard to write Chinese characters, I spent more than one year to write with him. It was a torture, I had no patience, if I scolded him, he would cry. He would take a long break only after a few new words, but he liked to be the best.
>
> I want to send him to a good middle school, so he goes to a (local) after school class now. They emphasize English and Math. This took lots of time and effort. So now I don't spend much time with his Chinese. First two years I must accompany him, let him have a good habit of writing Chinese characters.

Lun talked about his skills and techniques to teach his children:

> Sha: Can you specify how you help them to learn Chinese?
>
> Lun: Just books. Lots of reading. We only ask them to do simple exercises about writing. Basically we didn't force them to write, because if you ask them to write a lot, they will be annoyed, so occasionally ask them to write. Last year I encouraged them to recite 'Three Character Classic' (三字经), and sometimes to copy it.
>
> Sha: Was it regularly studying every day for some time?
>
> Lun: No, it was casual. There was only one period, in order to let them recite, we use fifteen to twenty minutes every day to recite books, but you can't do it too long, because they would feel it was endless, and feel bored. If you spend fifteen to twenty minutes, they would feel it was like a game to play occasionally and they could remember quickly after you taught them. You spend three to five minutes to repeat what you learned yesterday or the day before yesterday every time before you start,

> to be more familiar with points you don't know, and then learn a new paragraph, then it was fun…So I think if you force them to learn, especially to learn a second language…it shouldn't be too long every day.

Hao stressed the importance of educating her own children due to her concerns regarding the quality of the education in CLS:

> Hao: …With regard to going to CLS, I will send the younger one to study there, but I don't have big expectation that they will learn a lot from it. I will teach them using my own education system, because I don't think the textbooks in CLS are very good, at least it doesn't have the Pinyin[36] (拼音) part. The first level already started learning characters, but they have Pinyin above them, and there are no Pinyin textbooks. So it has this problem…So I will teach my younger daughter using my own system.

Providing learning materials

Lack of good quality Chinese teaching and learning materials in Northern Ireland could be a problem for diasporic children learning Chinese, but diasporic Chinese parents make use of the vast resources from China and the other Asian countries in which they originate and bring them to Northern Ireland for their children. As international flights have become cheaper, and the choice of airlines has increased, diasporic families have been able to travel back to China frequently, and bring back useful resources. In recent years, they have also been able to access resources through the internet. Globalization is 'an analytical term used to refer to the processes of growing interconnection between previously separated human

[36] Phonetic system for the pronunciation of Chinese characters.

populations on a global scale, often associated with the last several centuries of modernity' (Ember, et al. 2004: 564). With the development of technology, the globalization process can be even faster. Access to the internet and telecommunications has become easier and been widely adopted in recent years allowing diasporic families to access resources from China in a few seconds without travelling. Goh argued that 'the developments in communication technology… constitute new media narratives through which a multitude of new social identities and positions may be voiced' (2004: 5).

> Hao: …In my own way, by using the Mandarin text books, I can help her with Chinese primary school education. I can teach her Chinese primary school Chinese literature and math according to their age and time.
>
> S: Do you have other Mandarin books for them to learn?
> Pei: Yes. I bought story books from Malaysia. We also show them some Internet programs. It's hard to find children's Chinese TV programme here, like cartoons. I bought one to teach them conversations…
>
> Meng: Before school, I bought a 'Babies learn Mandarin' studying machine for him. He could recognise characters but not write…He has Mandarin books and other materials (see Figure 1), but I read English bed time stories to him every day. We used to have Chinese idiom story books, but not many now.

Figure 1. A Map of China puzzle in Meng's house. The act of doing the puzzle familiarises them with the Chinese landscape and administrative divisions; the text is in Mandarin. This is a visual approach using a playful manner to learn about a country and its language.

Sha: Did you two both teach them Mandarin?

Lun: Mainly my wife teaches them (see Figure 2). We also put lots of Chinese books in the rooms for them to read (see Figure 3). When they have nothing to do then they can only read books.

Figure 2. Lun's daughter's Chinese exercise book. Her mother circled her mistakes and wrote encouraging words and drew a small picture on it every time to make it look pretty and interesting.

Figure 3. Chinese books in Lun's daughter's room.

The books on the shelf shown in Figure 3 were all printed in traditional Chinese characters which are used in Taiwan. There were books with a variety of content, from children's story books and novels for youth to Chinese and western classics; from an introduction to Chinese culture and customs to questions and answers to

different science topics; from educational puzzles to dictionaries. There were also some Taiwanese ornaments. These learning resources are easily accessible to children within the home space, which Lun hopes will stimulate his daughter's desire to learn the language and knowledge of Taiwan.

Many parents realised that forcing children to learn Chinese or pushing them too hard could be counterproductive. Instead, they adopted techniques of guidance and encouragement, for instance, Lun filled his children's rooms with Chinese books and other Chinese materials, so that when children had nothing to do, they would read them and learn Chinese from them. Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn L. Cartier argued that:

> Space and place are the primordial structural elements of diasporas, as groups of people must exist, function and interact in space and place. Spatial interaction is commonly manifested in terms of connectivity, exchange and spread of people, goods, ideas and information across networked space and among a number of places with varying degrees of intensity and directionality, and as such, diasporas are also spatial networks… (2003: 8).

Lun made use of his home space to interact with his children. By converting children's rooms into small 'libraries', he encouraged them to learn more language. He also tried to make the learning process more fun. These Chinese materials in diasporic Chinese families are precious and provided a visual and vocal Chinese environment for children in an English-speaking country. They supplemented parents' Chinese speech, especially when parents are busy. Children also have more freedom to choose what they like to read, watch or play with when using these

Chinese materials: there are not only text books, but a vast variety of resources that can attract children's attention, making it possible for children to learn the language through processes of recreation. I also found that if parents found children were not really interested in Chinese language learning, they would reduce the amount of language-learning work and allow them to focus more on their local school work.

Attending cultural events

Since the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, Northern Ireland has become an increasingly multicultural society. Many foreign festivals and events are celebrated, including Chinese celebrations. These serve as opportunities for Chinese parents to expose their children to Chinese culture and promote an appreciation for it.

> S: Do you bring them to some culture events sometimes?
>
> Pei: Yes. I encourage them to go have a look, like Chinese New Year celebration. I think they should go. They liked it. It's lucky to have a CLS for them to learn Chinese here, because this place is not big and the Chinese population is not as big as other larger cities.

Here, I illustrate and analyse my fieldwork during participation in a Chinese New Year event in 2011. This event can be seen as part of diasporic networking and identity formation.

The Chinese New Year Celebration (CNYC) 2011 was held on Sunday 6th February 2011 at St George's Market, Belfast. The market gate opened at midday and the entrance fee was £2 for adult, £1 for children. The event was mainly organised by the Chinese Welfare Association (CWA). They had invited a professional Chinese

performing troupe from Hefei, Anhui province of China. Their performances included Chinese traditional and folk music, dancing and acrobatics. There was also a Chinese Master Chef Competition and children's Chinese costume competition (see Figure 4). Local performers from minority backgrounds also displayed their talents, there was a Chinese Lion Dance performance by the Success Lion Dancers, as well as Indian and African music and dance. During the show, the hosts announced the founding of a new Chinese Community Radio programme, which would start on Sunday 20th March 2011, and it would broadcast in Cantonese, Mandarin and English throughout Belfast on Feile FM and on the Internet.

Figure 4. Chinese Costume Competition at CNYC 2011.[37]

Stalls at the market were selling variety of food and handicrafts. The goods on sale at the stalls selling Chinese clothes, souvenirs and handicrafts were authentic and of high quality (see Figure 5). They attracted both adults and children, local and Chinese people. There were also stalls from organisations and institutions. Youth group stalls from Chinese Welfare Association (CWA) also did children's face painting.

37 http://www.facebook.com/album.php?aid=6704&id=100001653970683#!/photo.php?fbid=104666682951797&set=a.104466602951805.6704.100001653970683&theater, accessed 14 March 2011.

Figure 5. A stall selling Chinese souvenirs and handicrafts at CNYC 2011.[38]

Chinese Language School (CLS) had a stall in the market (see Figure 6). They were demonstrating Chinese calligraphy and also organised their pupils to attend the Chinese Costume Competition. Two weeks before the event, CLS started to hold teachers' meetings about the CNYC. The School asked teachers to suggest their students should attend the CNYC if they and their parents had time. They were also encouraged to wear traditional Chinese costumes, so they could take part in the Chinese Costume Competition later. Every pupil received an entrance ticket and they could bring their parents to the event. Pupils were advised to attend the event in the form of their classes, and teachers would manage their own classes during the event. They also asked a Taiwanese teacher's friend, Mr Luo, to help with the Chinese calligraphy demonstration and write people's names in Chinese on coloured paper on the day (see Figure 7).

[38] http://www.u.tv/Galleries/GalleryPicture.aspx?guid=58A0A8FF-EE5E-4F55-A505-8322DEB430E7&ImgId=176795, accessed 14 March 2011.

Figure 6. Chinese Language School stall at CNYC 2011.[39]

Figure 7. Mr Luo and his Chinese calligraphy demonstration at the CLS stall 2011.[40]

Mr Luo gave an interview a local TV channel:

> There are many benefits to learn the language.
>
> So far we've got ten new pupils signed up, which is good, usually we get around ten people per class, sometimes more. A lot of them are children of Chinese parents so it's important for them to learn their culture.

[39] http://www.u.tv/Galleries/GalleryPicture.aspx?guid=58A0A8FF-EE5E-4F55-A505-8322DEB430E7&ImgId=176795, accessed 14 March 2011.
[40] http://www.u.tv/Galleries/GalleryPicture.aspx?guid=58A0A8FF-EE5E-4F55-A505-8322DEB430E7&ImgId=176795, accessed 14 March 2011.

> But it's good for local people too. The Chinese economy is going up in the future so it's an advantage for people to learn Mandarin.[41]

One local person wrote a comment on 19 February 2011 about the Chinese Costume Competition: 'It made my day to see my niece on TV dressing as a Chinese girl and she looked the part very well. If I had not seen her dressed before I would have thought she was Chinese'.[42]

A Cantonese speaking lady told me she brought her grandchildren to the show and they attended the Chinese Costume Competition. They had owned those clothes for some time; they were not specially bought for the competition. Every child received a small gift after the competition; the winner of the costume competition received an extra prize. I saw one very small child crying on the stage, he seemed to be afraid because his parents were not standing beside him. Although the lady in charge told me it was a bit disordered and there were too many people, it was clear that most children enjoyed the event.

One of the teachers told me that not all the students went to see the show. There were three or four students in her class did not turn up that day. Her class stayed together and looked at the stalls in the market, watched the show and engaged in some activities such as origami. Students preferred these kinds of activities to a routine Chinese class. Another teacher told me that only one of her students came to the celebration. Teachers were free to leave from 3.00 pm since that was the time classes

[41] http://www.u.tv/Lifestyle/Belfast-celebrates-Chinese-New-year/7bde28cb-f5f3-4d92-989c-d18a12cc0e91
[42] http://www.u.tv/Lifestyle/Belfast-celebrates-Chinese-New-year/7bde28cb-f5f3-4d92-989c-d18a12cc0e91

usually finished on Sundays (the show finished at about 5 pm). Many of the students did not come, either because their parents were too busy or because they lived far away from the market. Most of the students who attended the Chinese Costume Competition were from Cantonese speaking families. She believed students liked the event.

Mr. Luo from Taiwan has an eight year old son, he told me his son went to another party instead of going to see the show in the market that day. He said: his son was not interested in the celebration, he preferred to attend the party with peer friends. ‘I could not force him to come here’ he told me.

Chinese organisations such as CWA and CLS are creating opportunities, spaces and time for Chinese migrants, local people and migrants from other countries to share and communicate Chinese language, culture, and other cultures. They also give incentives such as easier access and even benefits or awards to encourage Chinese migrant pupils and parents to participant in these events: for example, early notice and cheaper entrance fees. An excellent performance by a famous performing troupe from China, a new Chinese radio station, delicate and colourful Chinese costumes and ornaments, traditional Chinese cultural practices such as Chinese Lion Dance and calligraphy, these eye-catching objects and activities are lively and attractive to many young pupils in a way that routine language classes may not be. They may also serve to increase pride in Chinese cultural identity and identification with ‘the Chinese community’. Such senses of pride and identification might, in turn, motivate increased interests in Chinese language and culture. Such are the hopes of the parents who bring their children to such events. Even if participation does not result in

increased motivation, they reason that children will at least be in a Chinese speaking environment, which is beneficial for improving their language skills.

At the same time, participation as a group also served a purpose for CLS. The organisation of pupils in groups to attend the event could strengthen a sense of collective identity and represent CLS to the Chinese community and the city. Through these events, these organisations could also expand their popularity and attract more students, and form connections with other groups and individuals. Behind this image of a 'big happy family' which is projected by events such as CNYC, huge individual diversity remains. Differences in generation, national origin, language, political orientation and degree of assimilation into local culture and society, however, disappear for a day as all come together as members of 'the Chinese community'.

Trips to China: Physical presence in the homeland

Flights to China usually take more than ten hours, and cheaper flights usually have at least one stop during the journey. After arriving in one of the larger cities of China, diasporic families then have to travel to their hometown by train, coach or car. My hometown is a small town in Liaoning, and my flight from London arrives in Beijing, I then need to travel ten more hours by train or four hours by car to reach my hometown. Visits to China are limited not only by expense and the difficulties of travel, but also by the constraints of migrants' lives in Northern Ireland: work, school or college. Visits to China, then, are seen as something of a luxury, and are usually limited to one or two a year. Parents usually plan these trips well in advance, and they have clear schedules and purposes. As Ember (2004) noted in regard to the

Chinese in Singapore, family ties are a major factor motivating such visits, especially for first generation Chinese migrants.

> Sha: You mentioned you go back to Hong Kong or China sometimes, how often is that? Do you bring them (children) back with you?
>
> Andy: Last time I brought them with me was three years ago, because they need to register their Hong Kong ID card. We might need to go back this year again to renew the Hong Kong ID card. So not that often, maybe every three or four years, we'll go back together for once.
>
> Sha: What will you do in Hong Kong?
>
> Andy: Well, I'll show them around Hong Kong, all the Hong Kong attractions, but Hong Kong is such a small island, it only has very limited attractions you can see. Last time we spent about ten days in Hong Kong, we actually nearly viewed all of the attractions already, so this time mainly maybe go to Hong Kong Disneyland, or somewhere that we didn't go last time, but maybe only two or three left, won't be too many.

Pei has family members in Malaysia, that is the main reason she travels back to Malaysia with her children.

> Sha: How often do you go back home? Do you visit families or go travelling? Do children like it there?
>
> Pei: … They go back maybe every two years, I (go back) maybe every one or one and a half years. We go visiting families. The children felt not bad.

Hao described similar reasons for travelling back to China, stressing the importance of family connections. Visiting family members is her main motivation for returning.

These visits potentially strengthen transnational family identifications and the need for her children to learn the language.

> Sha: Do you go back to China with them (children)?
>
> Hao: Yes, definitely. Because my parents are still alive, if time and finance allows, maybe once every year or every two years… After if my parents passed away, maybe we won't be back for a long time. We will have lots of choices, because three of us in the family know Japanese, and my husband is very good at it. My older daughter has no problems in listening or speaking in Japanese. She's not so good at reading or writing. So maybe in the future, we travel to Japan or other European countries. We won't go to China very often, now only because the elderly family members are still there.

Fan is the wife of the manager of a Chinese restaurant. They are both from Hong Kong originally. I had known them for some time and we did the interview in their restaurant when it was not busy. She spoke English quite well but was less confident in Mandarin, so the conversation was in English.

> Sha: I heard you went back to Hong Kong?
>
> Fan: Yes, I did.
>
> Sha: Was it for visiting families or travelling?
>
> Fan: It's kind of visiting, yes, and they learned a lot of Chinese just during those two weeks' time. That's why the children can learn very quickly if they got a chance.
>
> Sha: Do they like Hong Kong?
>
> Fan: They like it very much. They kept asking me what things were called in Chinese, or 'How do you say it in Chinese', you know. I think they would like to learn, but you know, when they are here, in this country, they don't need it. That's why they don't care. But if they got a chance, I think they would like it.

S: Do you go back to Hong Kong every year?

Fan: We usually just went back maybe every two years, just visiting, because they get used to it here now.

The following extract from an interview with Yi demonstrates another example of the educational purpose of trips back to China:

Sha: What school are they in (in China) now?

Yi: They are in Chinese schools now. Because they were in an international school for one year, and both of them didn't speak much Chinese. The purpose of coming back to China is for them to learn Chinese, so we sent them to public school. Less than half a year, they could speak very good Chinese, but reading and writing was still hard for them. Speaking is easier. Now after about more than 4 years, both of them can speak good Chinese, they can also read and write Chinese, but the understanding of Chinese literature is still bad. Their writing is the worst. Their writing is very childish, not good enough. Same with English, they can speak fluent English, there is no barrier, but they could never get 100% marks when they take Chinese exams. Oral skills are good, but not good at exams.

There are four primary reasons for parents to bring their children back to China for a short period of time, despite the obstacles. One is to take care of practical issues such as Andy's need to register her children for their Hong Kong ID cards. The second is visiting family members in China, and the third is travelling and showing children their home country. The final reason is to expose children to a Chinese language and cultural environment or even to receive temporary school education in China. Very often, these activities are combined.

Parents' motivations regarding children's Chinese language learning

One of my key research questions was why parents wanted their children to learn Chinese in Northern Ireland. The answers they gave me included ideas of sustaining the culture and the language and passing the language on to the next generation in an English-speaking country. As discussed earlier in the chapter, children's Chinese identity is reinforced in diasporic Chinese families through members using the same language, and learning similar culture and customs. As Ma Mung (2004: 213) has stated: 'this feeling of belonging to a single group with a shared origin constitutes a collective identity of an ethnic nature'. The need to belong is also reflected in the following interview excerpt.

> Sha: Why do you send your children to learn Mandarin?
>
> Pei: It's the most common language; I think it's good to let them learn Mandarin. As a Chinese, it's important to let them learn their own culture and language. If we don't give them a chance to learn now, it's hard to learn it when they grow up. They will lose the chance and Chinese identity. Chinese are everywhere in the world. I also think it has lots of benefit to learn many languages. China is developing fast, it will help them in the future. Now many foreigners are learning Chinese. As Chinese, we should learn Chinese, it will also benefit us.

Meng expressed similar views:

> Meng: As a Chinese, we should learn Chinese culture and language, to know Chinese culture through language learning. Knowing English is not necessarily an advantage. Knowing Chinese is a speciality and they shouldn't forget.

Hao's answer is relatively more practical and strategic:

> Sha: Do they (her children) go to CLS?
>
> Hao: They plan to go. The older daughter already sat Mandarin GCSE. Now British government put Chinese as one of the main foreign languages. I'd like her to take Mandarin AS or A level. Maybe ask her to go, because it will give her a (language) environment. She has been abroad for 8 years. I want her to do some review. She has no problem with listening, speaking or reading, but writing, she forgot the characters sometimes. I discussed with her, if she had time next year, register through CLS, I will pay the tuition fee. If she's interested, it's no harm to be in the class.

> Sha: Will they receive a certificate after CLS studying?
>
> Hao: No. The younger one, just go make friends. After she's five years old, I will let her play with peers (in CLS). As regard to learning, I will teach her at home.

For Hao, CLS and home can provide Chinese language environments for her daughters. Regardless of their level of language learning, this kind of environment would benefit them, either by talking to Chinese friends in CLS or learn and reviewing what they have learned. When I pursued the issue of why they should learn Chinese further, she gave me more practical answers.

> Sha: Why do you think they should learn Chinese or both: English and Chinese?
>
> Hao: Be able to speak more languages is an advantage for them to look for jobs in the future. No other reasons. Also it's a Chinese speaking environment at home. Parents know Chinese, then it's easier for children to learn it…My older daughter's Japanese is good too.

Sha: Did you push them hard to learn Chinese?

Hao: They must learn Chinese, because our relatives are in China, they need to communicate with them…

Apart from communicating with family members both at home in Northern Ireland and in China, Chinese language parents such as Hao also see an advantage for their children when they are looking for jobs in the future. 'Diaspora' is not just about 'forced dispersals or a desire to return', but also refers to movements to and from the homeland and the place of resettlement (Agnew 2005: 4). The South Asian diaspora is no longer the typical example of immigrants who always want to live or return to their home country (Agnew 2005: 4). The expanded meaning of diaspora put forward by Dunlop and Agnew stressed 'its ability to recreate a culture in diverse locations' (2005: 4). Migrants often have clear goals in the host country, such as to receive better education, to find better jobs or to do international business. These factors identified by Dunlop and Agnew in relation to south Asian migrants are also relevant to the experiences of Chinese in North America and European countries: they seek better economic opportunities (Ember, et al. 2004: 781). Nevertheless, the effect of Confucian thinking and educational ideas from China may still persist in the Chinese diaspora, resulting in the maintenance of strong Chinese identities and motivating ongoing communication with the home country. Similar dynamics have been observed in relation to the Chinese diaspora in Singapore (Ember, et al. 2004: 730). Although there is less desire to return to China from Singapore, because there are more locally-born Chinese, they still keep in touch with home by sending letters and regular remittances (Ember, et al. 2004: 730). So Hao's requirement for her children to learn Chinese in order to keep in contact with their relatives in China is part of a widespread dynamic amongst Chinese diasporas.

Andy also linked the importance of learning Chinese with children's future careers and Chinese identity.

> Andy: …Especially if you want to develop a link with China. In my career dream, I would love to have a business link with China in the future. I think China is a big potential. So many people, and the economy is strong, they got so much money. They have so many resources. That is a big potential. If anybody wants to dream to be a multi-millionaire one day, I think China is an ideal country to have a go with it. That's why Mandarin is very important.

> Sha: In your mind you hope they will maintain this culture and the language?
> Andy: Yes, of course, yes, especially in my background is Chinese martial arts and Lion Dance lecturer. I'd really love to…expect them to understand and learn more our Chinese culture and speak more our language, but it seems to be difficult.

For these parents, Chinese was a 'must' learn language for their children: they should at least be able to communicate with parents and other relatives in Chinese. They did not want children to miss language learning at the young age when it was easiest, yet because children were living in a primarily English-speaking environment, there was little everyday requirement for the language. Since English is the main language in Northern Ireland, parents were less concerned about their children's English ability. Instead, they concentrated more on Chinese language competence. Beyond communicating with family and maintaining Chinese cultural identity, parents saw this extra skill as adding to their children's employability in a globalising world in which the Chinese economy is playing an increasingly significant role.

Whilst parents are strongly motivated to encourage their children's language learning for a range of long-term reasons, these motivations may not be shared by children whose perceptions are concerned with much shorter time horizons and who find little use for Chinese language in their everyday life.

Identity is a recurring theme. Many parents mentioned that as a Chinese, you should learn and know the language and associated culture, and they hope this can be inherited through generations, even though their home is no longer China any more. As Ma Mung argued:

> The genealogy that instills a sense of continuity in individuals dwelling in various countries and provides them with a shared origin also serves as a basis for the formation of a transnational ethnic identity. Moreover, the genealogical continuity argues a geographic contiguity. Contiguity situates the origin of the group henceforth defined by this identity in an extraterritorial monad made up of the various places where the diaspora has settled, rather than in a single land of origin (2004: 215).

The ethnic identity of Chinese children born in Northern Ireland emerges in a process of being informed and reinforced through linguistic and cultural practices. The strong link between language learning and usage and ethnic identity is also demonstrated in other research cases. Paul A. Singh Ghuman has done extensive researches with 'Punjabi parents in the West Midlands of England and in Vancouver, Canada (Ghuman 1980, Ghuman 1993) and with Chinese parents in Manchester, England (Ghuman and Wong 1989)'. Ghuman concluded that 'most parents believe their

language provides an important link with their cultural and social heritage. It was considered to be the core element of their culture…language is also an important part of their ethnic and religious identity' (1995: 227).

5.6 Parents' opinions regarding the pressures of language learning

Besides going to Chinese language schools and local schools, children from diasporic Chinese families also attend other after-school classes from an early age. This is also related to the Chinese way of education and parenting. The situation is more intense in China. In the case of the Chinese in Singapore, Ember et al (2004: 730) stated that the older generation Chinese still saw China as their homeland, and they 'carried Chinese beliefs, values, and traditions to their new lands'. So it is common to see Chinese diasporic parents maintaining and practicing Chinese ways of education and parenting. From the following interviews, we will see how parents perceive this kind of learning process for their children.

> Sha: Do they also go to the other CLS or other hobby classes?
>
> Pei: No (not the other CLS). They go to piano and swimming classes too.

> Sha: Besides local school work, they also have CLS work. Do they feel they have lots of burdens?
>
> Pei: …We should talk Mandarin to them early, but I also think English is the most important here (in NI). They grew up here, their work is all in English… They don't have problems with their English. I hope their Chinese can improve little by little.

> Now many people are worried that their children don't have enough time to play. I don't think this is a bad thing or a big problem if they are happy to go and learn.

> Everything is difficult, it needs time and effort. I won't say that they are unhappy. If they are unhappy, maybe I'll rethink it. They have time to play too. It is important to be happy through accomplishment too. If they learned a lot, and have some achievement, they will feel proud of themselves. It's a good thing. If it's an achievement, they won't feel left out that they didn't have time to watch TV or to play.

> It was hard at first, it took a long time to finish their CLS homework. Especially at CLS grade 2, I think that time was important. It was really hard at the first several months. There was so much homework to do. Now I think it's easier. They spend lots of time in local school at the week time. They don't have much time left at home. The local schools encourage them to read story books at home which I think is a good habit. They emphasize English and math.

Due to the large population in China, the competition is always intense, both in the education system and in job markets. Parents send their children to best schools so they can go to good universities, and thus to find good jobs. Parents also aim to enhance their children's competitiveness by registering them for after-school and hobby classes. The Pew Global Attitudes Project 2011[43] found that about 68% of the Chinese public thought parents in their country 'put too much pressure on their children to succeed academically'; Whereas on the contrary, 64% of Americans said that 'parents did not put enough pressure on their children to do well in school'. This issue has become of sufficient concern in China to be reported in mainstream media, both within China and beyond. Ms. Wei in China told a journalist from The Guardian that her daughter used to be carefree, but she started to show signs of stress. She said:

[43] http://www.pewglobal.org/2011/08/23/americans-want-more-pressure-on-students-the-chinese-want-less/, accessed 4 December 2012.

'But what can we do? If she fails to get into a good high school, her future won't be bright.[44] Kids have to fight fiercely in order to go to top schools. It's like a real battle with blood and bruises'. Diasporic parents are adopting similar approaches to education in NI. Although the competition is less intense, parents still expect their children to be successful. Therefore diasporic parents think carefully about how much pressure their children should be under.

Meng talked about the pressure she put on her son:

> Meng: His homework is once a week from local school, it's not much. He can finish it in half an hour. His English is good; he's good at English reading. He's the best in his class, but he's not very good at Math. He likes to go to school and play. Now the after-school class work and Chinese is like a torture. It's enough if he tried his best.

Hao expressed similar ideas:

> Hao: …Going to CLS like anybody else, it's going to play. Having a (language) environment, we teach children and they kind of play for two hours. I think she will be a naughty pupil in the class in the future too, but I won't scold her.

The youngest children in CLS NI are even younger than pupils in Chinese primary school Grade One in China. At such a young age, it would be hard for them to comprehend the meaning of learning Chinese at a Sunday school and hard for them to digest and absorb the knowledge. Parents expressed their frustration at helping them with this work, but they insisted it was worthwhile to do so. These children

[44] http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/aug/28/parents-china-education-children-course, accessed 4 December 2012.

usually do not have big problems with little local school work. In addition, they believe Sunday school is like a hobby class, children can have fun and meet friends there, so the burden is not too heavy on children. They are content if their children try their best.

Conclusion

This chapter examined children's Chinese language learning through their parents' perspectives. It showed that the importance of the education, provided by the parents for their children from a very young age, must not be understated. As Burton White from Harvard University stated, 'the informal education that families provide for their children makes more of an impact on a child's total educational development than the formal education system' (1979: 4). Other scholars also stressed the important role that the home and parents play in a child's development. For instance American educator Ernest L. Boyer argued that home is the first classroom and parents are the first and most essential teachers (1991: 33). In migrant Chinese families, in order to maintain Chinese identity through future generations, Chinese parents have gone to great lengths, and their efforts are extremely valuable. Without their help, these children would not have a Chinese language environment or the opportunities and facilities to learn Chinese language in this English-speaking country. Besides sustaining their identity, parents' thoughts about learning Chinese are also very practical and strategic. Firstly, they can communicate with their own family; and secondly, children will be more competitive in the job-market of the future, especially since Chinese is a popular and widely used language at present.

From the interview materials, we can see that most parents adopted a range of methods to help their children learn Chinese and expect them to reach certain levels. In addition to language classes and home education, children are taken to Chinese cultural events, transnational family connections are maintained, and most families attempt to make regular visits to their home country. Migrant parents maintain some Chinese ways of educating and parenting their children, but they are also concerned with their children's happiness and response to pressure. Parents are always pursuing a more balanced status among expectations, efforts and children's learning practices. Amit and Rapport (2002: 8) emphasized that 'attachment to a cultural community should be seen to be a matter of individual choice, not necessity or duty (an achievement not an ascription), and the existence of communities be deemed an expression of free negotiation between individuals'. There are some migrant Chinese parents and children who predominantly speak English and attend local activities; there are also Chinese who put great value on Chinese language education. These are individual choices and such choices always constitute a fluid social process dependent upon personal histories and social networks. Through their life trajectory, migrant Chinese children reach school age, and their networks are transformed and widened by the transition from the domestic to the new school environment. In the next chapter, I will explore linguistic practice and identity formation in the Chinese migrant organisation: the Chinese Language School and the dynamics of interactions among teachers and pupils in classes.

Chapter 6. Chinese Language School Dynamics

Introduction

This chapter introduces the Chinese Language School Northern Ireland (CLS), an important organisation through which migrants of Chinese origin in Northern Ireland formalise language teaching and provide a social space that allows for diasporic identity formation. The chapter explores the social and educational dynamics of language teaching and learning during several classes, examining teachers' and pupils' interactions, pupils' learning attitudes and language usage during classes, and other aspects of pupils' behaviour. Practices of code-switching and pupils' learning motivation will also be explored.

The chapter will explore CLS teachers' experiences and understanding of their classes and students and will investigate the teachers' role in pupils' language education and identity formation as members of a 'Chinese' language speaking 'diasporic community' that has strong links with China. Parents' actions and opinions with regards to children's formal CLS language learning are also discussed in this chapter. Comparisons will be made between the influences on the pupils' learning process by the teachers in the classroom and parents in the home environment.

The chapter will draw on theories of second language acquisition and 'code-switching', and on motivational theories that are concerned with factors that can cause an individual to move towards certain activities or tasks (Pintrich & Schunk,

2002). The chapter draws upon the work of Paul R. Pintrich (2003: 669) of the Combined Program in Education and Psychology, University of Michigan who focuses on seven key questions central to current motivation research. This chapter will focus on four of these questions which are those most relevant to my research: (1) What do students want? (2) What motivates students in the classroom? (3) How do students get what they want? (4) Do students know what they want or what motivates them?' (2003: 669-682). In addressing these questions I also draw on McClelland's Achievement Motivation Theory. Finally, the chapter discusses the dynamics of diaspora formation, community making and identity formation.

6.1 Diasporic Chinese organisation: Chinese language school

According to a document prepared by the CLS for a fundraising event held on 29th May 2011. CLS is a charity organization and was founded by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in 1983. It was funded by the Belfast Education and Library Board (BELB) until 2005. Since then, the school has been financially supported by BBC Children in Need. Initially, the school had about forty students. By May 2011, this had grown to about two hundred students. At first, it only ran a few Cantonese classes. With the support of the Mandarin Speakers Association (MSA), four Mandarin classes from MSA joined CLS in March 2001. The foundation of Mandarin classes and their subsequent increase in numbers resulted from a change in the composition of Chinese migration to NI.

In the 1980s, The PRC relaxed its migration laws and more people from mainland China went abroad to seek higher education and better economic opportunities. These migrants belong to the last group of Chinese migrants to Europe identified by

Benton and Pieke: well-educated city dwellers with diverse backgrounds in northern China (1998: 7). As a result of this migration from the Mandarin-speaking north, the demand for Mandarin learning in Belfast has increased. At the time of my fieldwork in 2011, CLS ran nine Cantonese classes, eight Mandarin classes and two Mandarin adult classes. The classes and students' number in CLS may vary slightly from year to year. In the two most recent years, from 2014-2016, each lower level class has had to be divided into two classes due to the large numbers of pupils enrolled. Students' age range is from five to twenty-three years. The numbers of students from non-Chinese origins have also increased. It is now common to see one or two pupils with backgrounds in south Asia or Europe in many classes. Besides teaching language skills and organising mid-term and final exams, CLS also organizes various cultural activities, including Chinese New Year Celebrations, the Chinese Dragon Boat Race, art exhibitions and concerts. Before the new term starts each year, teachers have a meeting to welcome new teachers; run an induction program introducing the school's background and regulations, new term arrangements and teachers' registration. During the term time, all teachers will also participate in teachers' training by specialists and professors from the UK and China. Another significant annual event is the school opening and award ceremony which takes place on the second week of the new term in September. All teachers, pupils and their parents are invited to the event. Awards are given to the three pupils with the highest exam marks during the previous term and an additional award is made to the most diligent pupil in each class. The prizes are in the form of an award certificate and, as is common in Chinese custom, a small amount of cash enclosed in a red envelope. Award-winning pupils will also have a group photo taken with school authorities and honoured guests, such as the CEO of CWA or the chairman of CCC. This is an occasion of excitement for

successful students and pride for their parents.

From the two tables in appendix 12, we can see that one teacher had taught in CLS for more than ten years, others had three years or less teaching experience in CLS. Teaching in CLS tends to be characterised by a considerable turnover of personnel making school management unpredictable and difficult to control. The job of teachers is voluntary in nature, and for most is part-time, paying only ten pounds an hour. Many teachers are university students, temporary migrants who will move away or return to China. So CLS recruits new teachers every year to fill in the position of teachers who had to leave. Due to the unreliable availability of teachers, CLS does not insist on qualifications in relevant areas, such as education or language teaching, although they prioritise applicants with a suitable educational background. The selection of applicants includes two phases: reviewing CV and interviews. The selected applicants will usually start as substitute teachers which allows them to gain teaching experience. When a vacant teaching position appears, they can then take on their own classes. CLS provides certified teacher-training and child-protection training. There are two types of teaching skill training: the first is seminars run by teachers themselves, in which they do presentations and have discussions about teaching skills and problems while teaching their classes. The second is lectures taught by invited specialists and professors from the UK and China which are followed by opportunities for questions and discussions. In my experience, these types of training do help to improve the quality of teaching at CLS. There are also larger training events organised by Hanban in England, but only a very limited number of teachers can attend these.[45] As a result of the high teacher turnover, lack

[45] Hanban (汉办) is the Mandarin abbreviation for the Chinese National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (NOTCFL). (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanban)

of qualifications of some teachers and limited training opportunities, the quality of CLS teachers' teaching varies, and occasionally, some teachers receive negative feedback or even complaints from parents. CLS pays attention to such feedback and will speak with the teacher in such situations. If the problem recurs, the teacher may be dismissed, although this is rare.

The tables show that teachers' origin bears a fixed relation to the language they teach, with teachers with origins in Mainland China teaching Mandarin classes and teachers from HK teaching Cantonese classes. The relationship between students' origins and the language they learn is more complex. There is a considerable diversity of students in CLS. Students may come from English, Mandarin or Cantonese speaking families, some had primary school education in China before migrating to NI, others were locally born so there were very large differences in their levels of language learning. Furthermore, classes included students from a wide age-span, leading to significant differences in comprehension and learning abilities. Some classes, such as Mandarin Grade 2, has larger number of pupils, and CLS lacked sufficient numbers of teaching assistants. All these factors could make teaching in CLS a difficult task.

One regularity in student background and language learning could be observed: there are Cantonese background students in Mandarin classes, but rarely the opposite. This phenomenon relates to family language usage, the increasing immigration from mainland China and growing impact of China's economic and political power around the world. Because Mandarin is the official language of China, it is required to use mandarin in schools and universities in Cantonese speaking areas in China such as Guang Dong province, it is common to see people from these areas who speak or

understand Mandarin. Countries like Singapore have also promoted learning and use of Mandarin alongside their official language for many years. When people from these areas immigrated to NI, they wished their children to learn Mandarin as well as Cantonese. With regard to teachers and their origins, few people from northern China can understand or speak Cantonese, thus they can only teach Mandarin classes. Some teachers from Cantonese speaking areas can speak and understand Mandarin, but many of them have strong Cantonese accents or inaccurate Mandarin pronunciation, so they are not regarded as suitable to teach Mandarin.

Diagram 1 and table 1 presents the school map and the classroom arrangement. To better understand the layout of the school, refer to Figure 1.

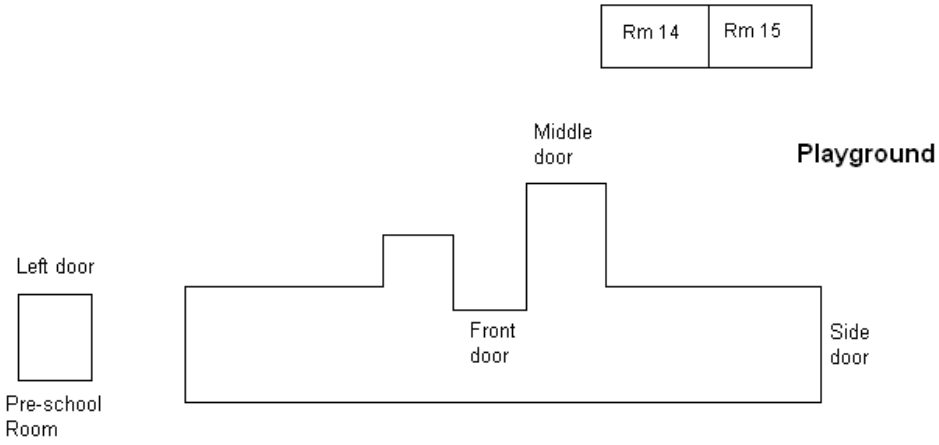


Diagram 1: CLS map.

CLS room numbers and class grades on ground floor.

Rm 1	M 1
Rm 2	M3
Rm 3	M4/5
Rm 4	M3
Rm 5	M1
Rm 6	C Nursery 2
Staff Room	M Adult class
Music Room	C 5
Tuition Room	C1

CLS room numbers and class grades on first floor.

Rm 7	C2
Rm 8	C4
Rm 9	M8
Rm 10	C 3
Rm 11	M6
Rm 12	M7

CLS room numbers and class grades at playground.

Rm 14	C AS/A2
Rm 15	C 6
Pre-school Room	C Nursery 1

Table 1: CLS classroom arrangement. (M=Mandarin class; C=Cantonese class)

Figure 1. The exterior view of CLS NI.

This primary school which is rented by CLS is located in a residential area of south Belfast. It has a good reputation and from the decoration and displays in the school and its classrooms, you can see that they also pay attention to multicultural education. The Chinese Lion Dance association I joined in 2009 had been invited many times to perform at Stranmillis Primary School on Chinese festivals. Chinese characters, Chinese themed pictures, decorative items and hand crafts are also noticeable in the classrooms during Chinese festivals such as Chinese New Year. Every classroom is filled with displays of pupils' work, teaching materials and facilities. It also has a large hall and a playground. One problem for CLS is that it rents these premises, but does not have access to most of the teaching materials or technology, such as multi-media facilities in the classrooms. Teachers are also responsible for cleaning the classroom after the class. One of the most common complaints CLS received from the primary school was of classrooms being untidy or teaching materials or facilities having been moved. Another common complaint was from the neighbours of the primary school during class time on Sunday. Many pupils' parents parked their cars illegally causing inconvenience to other road users or neighbours. Despite appeals from CLS to parents to park considerately, the parking issue was a recurrent problem

which even led to police involvement on a few occasions. Eventually, complaints from neighbours led to the possibility of CLS losing access to the school. The school asked all teachers to speak to parents about the parking issue and also wrote and emailed all parents. This concerted action was effective in massively reducing the numbers of complaints about parking.

Not only was the hall in the primary school used for annual events such as opening ceremonies and concerts; but during the two hours of language classes each Sunday, the hall turned into a vibrant exercise hall for school officials and parents, with an aerobics class taught by a local fitness coach. This class provided healthy activity for parents during the period that their children were in language classes. Some parents also volunteered to join the Parents' Committee of CLS, taking on tasks such as recording pupils' class-attendance; serving as a school road-crossing patrol; and supervising pupils in the playground during break time. A representative of the Parents' Committee would also make speeches at CLS's major annual events. Not all parents participated in such activities, some chose to wait for their children in the school entrance hall where they could relax and socialise with other parents. In contrast, teachers had less time and fewer opportunities to socialise with each other: they came only to teach their own classes and then left the school. Teachers occasionally met prior to the classes if they arrived early on Sundays and at the break time, but only for a very short time. For much of the time I was teaching at CLS, I was not familiar with other teachers: I even did not know their names, let alone which classes they were teaching. The only chances teachers had to converse with each other for longer periods of time were during the organised CLS meetings, training sessions and annual events. The hospitality for attendees of these activities

was generous: lunches were provided (see Figures 2 and 3). At the end of the term, if the school's expenditure was not over the budget, CLS usually organised a dinner at a Chinese restaurant for all the school officials and teachers (see Figures 4 and 5). Sometimes teachers needed to pay a small amount of money towards this meal.

Figure 2. Teachers' training. A lecture taught by an invited experienced Mandarin teacher from England.

Figure 3. Delicious lunch provided for all the attendees at noon time of the training.

Figure 4. CLS authorities and teachers group photo after end of term dinner in June 2016.

Figure 5. Delicate end of term dinner dishes at a Chinese restaurant.

In 2015, the CLS Vice-President started a teacher-training group and another recreational group on the social media platform, 'Wechat' [46]' and added all the teachers. This increased communication among teachers and made it easier to receive information and discuss issues in regard to CLS and teaching. The recreational group was only used for sharing interesting and useful articles or videos for teachers. At the conclusion of my research, there were 33 members in the teaching group and 31 in the recreational group. Whenever new teachers joined CLS, they were added to the teaching group, meaning that when they have questions, anyone in the group can help by answering them. This is a convenient and easy way to facilitate communication and socialising among teachers, even though it is through a virtual network, this technology sustained and expanded our connection and social network beyond the two hours of school time on a Sunday.

CLS teachers' meetings could entail both positive and negative emotional experiences for me and probably for other teachers. Teachers tended to sit next to people who were from nearby regions of China. For example, teachers from Hong Kong sat together and spoke Cantonese to each other; teachers from north-eastern China sat together and spoke Mandarin. New teachers who were unfamiliar with others were especially likely to sit next to teachers who spoke the same dialect, which made them feel more at home. It was obvious that there were two main 'camps'- the Cantonese and Mandarin groups. I am from north-eastern China and I can only speak Mandarin and English. I would feel quite uncomfortable if I had to sit in the Cantonese group when I was a little late and there was no space left at the

[46] 'Wechat' is a popular social media application developed by Tencent based in Shen Zhen, China on smart phones among Chinese people. It only works when the phone is connected to the Internet. It is easy and free to send messages, pictures, voice messages and start group chat. Friends can also share pictures, thoughts and articles etc. in their 'friends circle'.

Mandarin group. This discomfort was not only because we could not communicate efficiently with each other (we had to speak English if we needed to talk to each other), but during the whole time of the meeting, a feeling of estrangement from each other, distance and embarrassing silence would fill the air. The situation might be better if there were only one Cantonese and one Mandarin teacher chatting with each other, but the power was unbalanced if there was only one Mandarin teacher in the Cantonese group.

When we were discussing school issues, if the speaker was speaking Cantonese, teachers from Mandarin group would always ask someone to interpret Cantonese to Mandarin. Normally someone from Guang Dong province would be able to interpret because they could speak both Mandarin and Cantonese. However, no interpreter was required for Cantonese speaking teachers when the speech was in Mandarin because we supposed they understand Mandarin or they 'should' understand it, as Mandarin is the standard and official language of China, and usually they had some understanding of Mandarin, even if they could not speak it.

Amit (2002:3) argued that anthropologists should not only focus on 'integrated and bounded fields of social interaction demarcated by well entrenched institutions, predictable events and criteria of membership' but should also pay attention to 'fragmentation, dislocation, destabilization or flux'. Whilst the idea of one encompassing 'Chineseness' exists at the level of CLS's overarching ideology, at other levels, the group contains diversity and dynamic power relations. From an outsider's point of view, we were a group of Chinese teachers teaching Chinese in NI, our aim was to maintain Chinese languages among next generations and to give them

opportunities to experience Chinese culture and customs in a western country, but within this group, teachers had different hometowns, different ways of thinking and different working experiences within CLS. There could also be issues of generation gaps, gender differences and language barriers, all of which could create distance between us.

Yet CLS's shared ideology and purpose meant that CLS did provide a social space in which children, parents and teachers of Chinese origin could meet and, despite differences in terms of language background, ethnicity, class background and migration histories, gain a sense of shared 'Chinese' identity and diasporic belonging. This does not mean that 'being Chinese' is a fixed and singular identity, but rather that engagement with CLS can partially shape people's identifications as 'Chinese', an identity category that may situationally be emphasised, de-emphasised, ignored or even denied in other settings.

6.2 Teachers' experience and perceptions of Chinese language[47] learning

This section introduces the background of CLS teachers I interviewed, including their age, home country and years of teaching. It discusses the following questions: how and why did they choose to be CLS teachers? How long have they been teaching in the school? Do their backgrounds influence their teaching?

[47] 'Chinese language' in the chapter is a general term, it includes different dialects. Callery (1842) stated that the Chinese dialects are distinguished into the *Mandarin*, the *Cantonese*, and the *Fokienese*. 'Each of them has its peculiar dictionary, poetry, and syntax' (1842: x). In certain context, if people only say 'Chinese' instead of specific term 'Mandarin/Cantonese', the interlocutors should be able to know which dialect they meant.

Hao is a Han Chinese Mandarin speaker originally from North-eastern China. She used to teach psychology in a college in China. Her husband works as a doctor of Chinese medicine in Northern Ireland and already had a work visa when Hao migrated to NI as his spouse. The proprietor of the company in which her husband practiced Chinese medicine introduced her to the possibility of working as a Chinese language teacher in CLS and passed her CV to a CLS official. Hao did not hear anything from the school for about half a year. Then they contacted her and offered her a position as a substitute teacher, which she took up. The first two months from April to June, she taught a Mandarin GCSE class. She then taught a Level 2 Mandarin class when the new term started in September. She taught Level 2 and 3 courses for the following two years before taking maternity leave. When her baby was a year old in 2010, she was again asked to work as a substitute teacher, so she resumed her work at school in September, and had been teaching in the school for the three years since then when I interviewed her.

Hao was initially informed about this work vacancy by an acquaintance rather than having gone looking for it. She had teaching experience and was motivated primarily by the desire to earn money in her spare time rather than a passion for teaching or for Chinese language and culture. Other teachers had different motivations.

Tao is also an ethnically Han Mandarin speaker originally from North-eastern China. She married to a local British man from Northern Ireland and has a five year old son. She thinks her son is still too young to learn Mandarin by himself in the school, so she decided to teach him herself at CLS. The fact that her child has mixed parentage influenced the decision to teach him Mandarin. When interviewed, Tao told me that

her husband disagreed with her regarding their child's education. Her husband, she said, had a more western point of view, feeling that children should enjoy their childhood and not spend much time on study or afterschool lessons. Although Tao partially accepted his point, she still thought it was necessary for their son to learn her mother-tongue: Mandarin. They compromised, agreeing that their son would attend CLS, but limiting his study time and the number of lessons he attended after school. The case of Tao's son shows that issues of child-rearing can be complex in culturally mixed households.

Tao applied for the job in CLS largely because she was motivated to teach her own child and, was recruited as a result of her working experience as a teaching assistant in a local school. She is not the only teacher who has such motivations to teach in the school. Some parents think that because they know their children, they can teach them more effectively than a stranger can. Moreover, in interviews, parents asserted that whilst they could help their children with their Chinese studies at home, children were very relaxed in an informal education environment and could be rebellious at home. In contrast, in a classroom environment, amongst their peers and classmates, they behave better and listen to the teacher.

Jiao is a teacher from Taiwan where Mandarin is the official language. He has a degree in Chinese literature from a Taiwan university and has worked as a professional roller-skating coach in Taiwan. Since his wife was studying at a university in Belfast, Jiao came to Belfast as her spouse, helping with the housework and taking care of their two young children while she studied. After he was settled in Belfast, Jiao applied to teach the adult Mandarin class when a vacancy arose in CLS.

In 2010, after having taught the adult class successfully, the Vice-President of CLS invited him to also teach the GCSE class which had been struggling to attract students and was facing closure. Jiao was successful in his GCSE teaching and student numbers increased from three to sixteen students. When I interviewed him, he had been teaching in the school for three years and felt he was a competent Mandarin teacher. Like Hao, Jiao was primarily motivated by the desire to augment his income. Jiao told me that in Taiwan, most people speak Mandarin, although with some pronunciation differences from standard Mandarin, and some, particularly of older generations, also speak local dialects: namely Taiwanese or Minnan. He also noted that a different Pinyin system is used in Taiwan to that used in mainland China and that the Taiwanese write in traditional Chinese characters rather than the simplified version now common in the PRC. Since the teachers in CLS are from different parts of China, they speak Mandarin with different accents and may write with either simplified or traditional characters. CLS does not have a universal standard or strict rule regarding such issues, perhaps because such a rule would be impractical given the limited pool from which they must recruit teachers.

Shan is originally from Hong Kong. He has been teaching a level three Cantonese class for one year, and also works in a supermarket. Li is also a native Cantonese speaker from Hong Kong. Having come to Belfast to attend university, she was looking for a part time job, and found one as a teacher at CLS. She had been a teacher for more than eight years at the time of interview. It was her third year teaching a Level 4 Cantonese class in 2011. Those teachers who have settled down in Northern Ireland usually work at CLS for long periods, because teaching Chinese abroad is relatively easy for them, and it only takes about four hours per week,

usually at weekends, which has little effect on their other work during the week. These teachers accumulate considerable teaching experience which can improve teaching quality.

The account of teachers given above shows that the 'Chinese' teachers in fact speak one or two different native languages, namely Cantonese or Mandarin. Cantonese speaking teachers mostly have some knowledge of Mandarin, while the opposite is only the case for two or three teachers. In addition, some speak specific dialects and some come from countries with different political, cultural and linguistic histories to the mainland PRC, namely Taiwan and Hong Kong. This diversity, however, is ideologically negated by the label 'Chinese' Language School, which asserts a single identity and attracts teachers from a range of different backgrounds.

6.3 Student profiles

This section introduces the CLS classes and students including grade of the class and its language level; number of students in the class; age range of students; and students' family and language backgrounds. It will show that the backgrounds of the 'Chinese' pupils are as diverse as those of the teachers. This section also discusses the varied approaches adopted by teachers to teaching students from different backgrounds.

Hao's classes all had less than ten students. The GCSE class she taught had four students, all about fourteen years old. Another class she taught initially had ten students, aged eight to nine years, which were reduced to eight when two of them left.. In the Grade Two class that she taught, the youngest pupil was five years old.

This child could not follow the class so she was moved to the lower level class. Hao told me that the Mandarin class language levels in CLS were relatively lower than the relevant levels in China:

> Sha: You said you taught Text book Level Two and Three. Compared to the level of Chinese classes in China, what level is it roughly?
>
> Hao: From the angle of knowing Chinese characters, it roughly equals the level of primary school Grade One in China... Now I'm teaching Textbook Three, I feel that the glossary equals the one in the textbook for Primary School Grade Two in China, but from the angle of listening and speaking, it equals the level of children in nursery school (in China). GCSE... from the angle of glossary, should be equal to Primary School Grade Three to Four in China, but from the form of the exam, they are just things for Grade One in China…GCSE also involves listening and reading…Looking at the glossary in the reading, maybe it equals Grade Three in China. But if it's the listening, it's nursery school children's level.

Hao analysed different aspects of the levels of the classes, such as reading and writing; and listening and speaking. Since the children in NI do not live in a Chinese language environment, their Chinese class level is lower than the one in China, especially in regard to listening and speaking.

Hao told me that her students' Chinese language ability and level had a close relationship with their parents' nationality and the language they used at home. The examples she gave are as follows:

> Sha: How is your students' Mandarin? Some of them speak Mandarin, and some speak Cantonese, right?
>
> Hao: More students speak Cantonese. I taught seven or eight students in the first year. Later some students changed class. The pupils in the first class I taught for two years, their Mandarin level is better. Two sets of parents were all local university graduates. One is from Shen yang (Capital city of Liaoning Province in China). One Dad came here as an International student. Then he opened his own Chinese take-away. These three children spoke Mandarin at home. Another child is a mixed one. The child's Dad was from Beijing, he also spoke some Mandarin to him/her. […] Another one was a child adopted by local people. He/she studied in my Grade One class for one year, then he/she couldn't follow it when we started the second book, so he/she gave up after two or three months, because the child's parents couldn't help him/her at home. The remaining two students spoke Cantonese. So more students from the class I taught before spoke Mandarin. More students in the class now speak Cantonese at home. I met a child before whose parents even couldn't understand Mandarin. I even couldn't communicate with the father. The parents owned a Chinese take-away. […] So at that time, when I talked about his child's study or ask for tuition fee, the communication was hard. He couldn't understand English either. […] So I mixed Chinese and English together and talked to him, and he could roughly understand the meaning…

The locally born Northern Irish 'Chinese' children's language levels are not as good as students in China, but their level is still better than adopted Chinese children. Parents of the former still try to speak to them in their mother tongue and create a Chinese language environment at home. By contrast, children with western parents could not get any help from their parents, do not identify as much with China because of a lack of (known) family connections, so they usually could not follow

the class as well and can end up dropping out the school. The school authority provided the following information about adopted children in CLS: In 2016, there are about 260 students in all, and more than ten of them were adopted children. The school authority did not provide further information for my question about their dropout rate. A teacher told me that at least over this year (2016) eight out of ten dropped out.

Language attrition amongst children of migrant parents has been extensively researched. Isurin states three factors that should be considered in research on the first language attrition process (2011: 207). The first factor is the amount of contact with the first language (L1); the second is age; the third is the length of residency in the second language (L2) environment. Isurin (2011:207) also mentioned briefly some other factors including education, literacy and emotional links to the native language. In Hao's class, her students' age and residency in Northern Ireland was roughly the same, so their language ability largely depended on their contact with their first language. Parents who speak the first language are a major source of contact with L1. When parents talked more L1 and pushed children to speak their mother tongue, children's language ability would be better; and vice versa. That is why the language level of children whose parents could not speak any Mandarin or who spoke a different Chinese dialect is usually lower than their peers whose parents can speak Mandarin.

When discussing the dynamics of language maintenance and attrition, Isurin (2011: 207) claims that 'language is an inseparable component of the cultural makeup and identity formation in the individual'. When parents talk Chinese to children, send

them to learn Chinese in CLS and encourage them to talk Chinese, these all help children to form 'Chinese' identity. As discussed earlier, the existence of an actual location where children can meet others in similar positions is an important factor of diasporic community making.

The fact that there is no shared 'Chinese' language, and that pupils have different access to Mandarin and Cantonese linguistic environments, does, however, complicate matters. One of Hao's classes had more Cantonese speakers and the other one had more Mandarin speakers. Usually if a student's family speaks Mandarin, the parents will send children go to the Mandarin class, and if their family speaks Cantonese, they go to Cantonese class. In such cases, children already have contact with their mother tongue and parents can help with their studies. In recent years, however, as the economy in mainland China has grown significantly, the official language, Mandarin, has become increasingly popular. The number of people around the world starting to learn Mandarin is increasing, including amongst Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong. So it is now not uncommon to see parents from Hong Kong, Malaysia, or other Cantonese speaking areas send their children to Mandarin classes.

Another issue in student's language levels is parents' regional background and level of education. Hao told me what she knew about students' parents, about the relationship between their education and the parts of China they came from.

> S: What about your students' family background generally? For example, parents' education, language…
>
> Hao: Not many parents had education…

S: So most of them work in take-aways?

Hao: Yes, most of them… hmm, say it this way, there are very few parents who have university degree, about one or two out of ten. People came here from mainland China, no matter illegally or by other ways: their education is more likely to be the level of middle school or high school. People from rural areas of Fujian[48] (see map 1), they even don't have primary school education. Hong Kong people's situation depends on which part they came from. People from the central area of Hong Kong, maybe have a High School Diploma. Hong Kong has so called 'people live on the water', they belong to the suburbs of Hong Kong. They don't pay much attention to their children's study. They didn't have education either.

Map 1. Map of China[49].

Parents' education may affect their ideas about their children's education and the way they choose to educate them. Shepherd and Stevens (2010) state that research shows that pupils with well-educated parents performed better and had higher scores in school, especially in England. Statistics demonstrated that these families usually

[48] Fujian is a south-eastern province in China, Taiwan Strait is on the east of Fujian (see map 1).
[49] Map of provinces and cities of China. (http://www.chinatoday.com/china-map/china-map-atlas.htm, accessed 16 March 2013).

provided more books, lived in safer and more affluent neighbourhoods and sent their children to better schools (2010). Some Chinese parents in Northern Ireland pay much attention to children's education; some see it less important and hope their children will just continue their family business. Some parents have little time to support or help with their children's study because of the intensive hours they work time in workplaces such as take-aways which remain an economic mainstay for the earliest wave of migrants to Belfast. I noticed parents' influence on children's ideas about education from my pupils' talk in the class. One boy's parent worked in a Chinese restaurant and the boy often told me that" 'if you don't study, you can't work or be a boss in the future' or 'study can make you smart'. Such comments constitute evidence that some parents are impacting their children's study by motivating and encouraging them.

6.4 Classroom context and analysis

The other CLS was using the premises of the Belfast Chinese Christian Church (see figure 6) on Saturdays. I did not apply to be a teacher there, but I observed and took notes at a few teachers' classes, and I helped two teachers to check pupils' homework during the classes. Besides teaching languages, this CLS also has Christian characteristics. Before the lesson started and ended, teachers and students would say prayers in Mandarin or Cantonese. The Christian CLS used different textbooks to those used by the other language school. Teachers often gave pupils extra handouts about Bible stories in Mandarin or Cantonese. At the end of the term, they had a concert in which they sang Christian songs together. Some parents send their children to both CLSs in order to intensify their language learning. The

following account was from my observation of a Cantonese class in this church school.

Figure 6. Exterior look of BCCC.

I arrived at the school at 11:25am on a Saturday. There were not many parents or students outside, most were clustered inside the building in the lobby. I looked into the large hall through the door, seeing that many students and teachers were already inside and sat at their tables. Those parents and students in the lobby were waiting for the other classroom to open. I did not see any school officials, and since it was almost time to start the class, I just went into the hall directly and found a teacher's class I had not observed before. The teacher was a middle aged man, I briefly introduced myself in Mandarin. He could understand me and told me he taught a Grade Three Cantonese class. He was happy for me to sit at the side and observe the class. I told him I would tell the school officials when I saw them later. The hall was large, cold and always noisy. Many other classes were running in the same hall, separated by tall plain boards (see figure 7).

Figure 7. The Hall of Saturday Chinese Language School

I later interviewed this teacher who was originally from Hong Kong. It was his first year teaching in the school. His class had six students ranging in age from 10 to 14 years. Most were born in NI. Most of their parents were from Hong Kong with a few from Malaysia and most of these worked in restaurants and take-away shops. In Hong Kong, 97% of the population speak Cantonese and because most Chinese Malaysians are originally from southern provinces of mainland China, Cantonese is also widely spoken in Malaysia.[50] Since their parents' mother tongue is Cantonese, these children are learning Cantonese in the school too.

At 11:30am, when classes began, there were four boys and one girl sat at the table. The boys sat next to each other and the girl sat a bit further from them (see Figure 8). The boys were chatting in English. When the teacher asked a boy about his work from last week in Cantonese, the boy answered in Cantonese. After the bell, the students were still chatting and laughing, they looked very relaxed. At 1:35pm, another girl came in and she showed her work and a test result card to the teacher. The teacher talked to her in Cantonese for a short while and then she sat beside the other girl.

[50] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/my.html

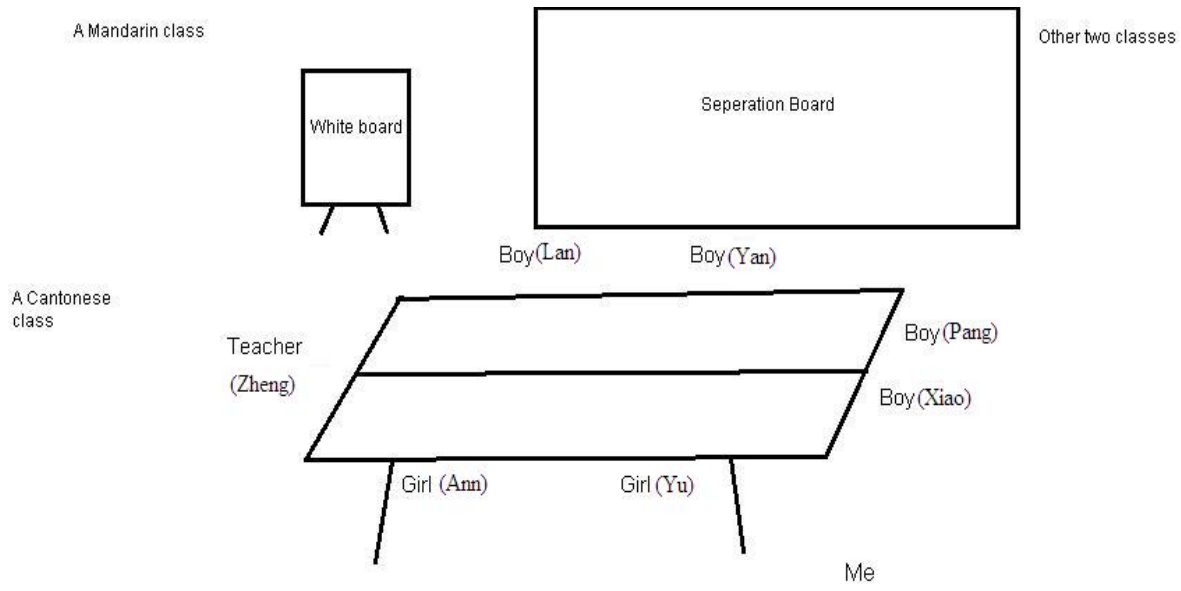


Figure 8. The layout of a Cantonese class.

At the beginning of the class, the students were still very relaxed and restless. They were not yet in a classroom learning mode. They preferred to sit next to their friends, so that whenever they had a chance, they could talk or even play with each other. It appeared that, especially for younger students, the opportunity to meet and play with friends, rather than a desire to learn the language, was a major part of their motivation to go to the school. Self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985; R. M. Ryan & Deci, 2000) suggests that student motivation requires three basic needs: competence, autonomy, and relatedness. The third need indicates the desire to have a sense of belonging or be attached to a group (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Pintrich also argued that motives could be unconscious or implicit in many situations (2003: 670). This need from the students answered the motivation research questions like ‘what do students want?’ (2003: 69).

Bock explained the reasons that experience-based embodied capital would track growth-based embodied capital in an efficient system. He argued that people have

limited time to attend activities. Choosing to engage in certain activities implies giving up the opportunity to pursue others. There can be a cost to learning a skill (2009: 22-23), and many skills, such as a second language, may benefit learners in the future rather than in the here and now. Children in Belfast Chinese language schools devote their weekend time to attending classes which may not offer them any immediate benefit. This lack of reward in the present may be one reason they are often reluctant to study, do not behave well in class, or fail to maintain concentration.

By asking for and checking students' homework (see figure 9), the teacher provided chances for the students to practice Cantonese. Stephen Krashen (1987), in his work on second language acquisition, notes that:

> Acquisition requires meaningful interaction in the target language - natural communication - in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding.

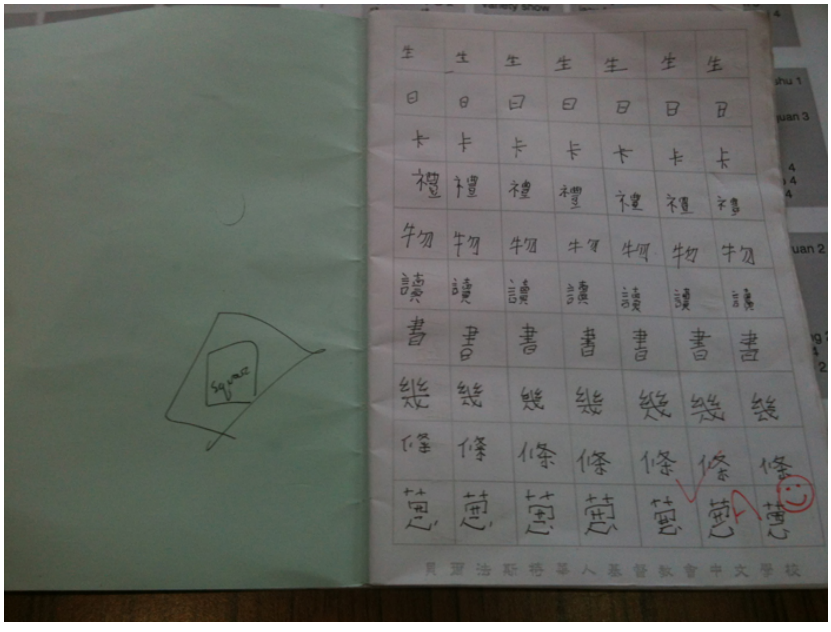


Figure 9. Student's homework. Memorizing new words (traditional Chinese characters) by copying them. Marked 'A' and a 'smiley face' by the teacher.

The teacher uses many techniques which will be discussed later in the chapter to focus students' attention and formalise the class.

The teacher (Zheng) asked them to open the book (see Figure 10). At this time, two boys (Pang and Xiao) were still drinking their snack drinks. Zheng started to read and explain the text. Everyone was listening and making notes on their text books. Two boys talked and laughed sometimes, they still looked very relaxed. Zheng was teaching words relating to stationary. Pang said in Cantonese: 'they call pencil…stationary.' At 11:45am, Pang and Yan started to play fighting using their pencils until Zheng stopped them.

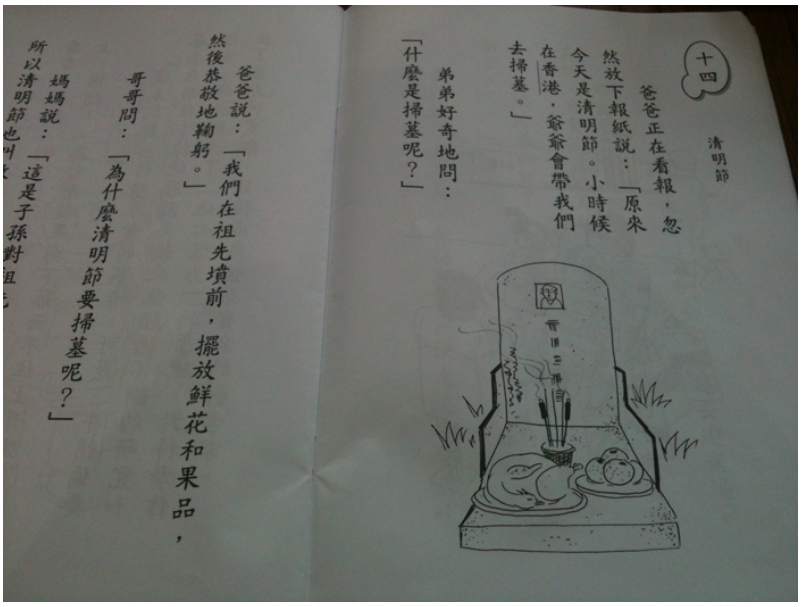


Figure 10. Grade 3 Cantonese text book written in traditional Chinese characters. Students were studying Lesson 14 which was about a traditional Chinese Festival: Qingming Festival (Tomb-sweeping Day).

The teacher asked them to open the text book, to look at it and listen to his explanations, because the visual images and characters in the text book, the sound from reading the text can draw students' attention. At that time, they were still quite playful and could not concentrate. When they lacked discipline, the teacher used his authority (verbally or by eye contact and facial expression) to stop them from playing.

Pintrich (2003) uses the term ‘situated motivation’ to emphasize how the context could afford or constrain cognition and motivation: thus instructions from teachers can actually affect students (2003: 681).

The small boy Xiao liked to ask Zheng questions in Cantonese and make sure his answers were right on the book. At 11:48am, Pang hit the table using his right hand and another boy Lan did so using his elbow too. Zheng looked at them but did not say anything.

Pang sometimes used his pencil to draw on his book. At 11:50am, he played with Yan. Xiao took rests sometimes, he looked down at his flavoured milk drink for a short while. Lan always interacted with Zheng in Cantonese.

Chances to hear students in Cantonese classes trying to talk in Cantonese are rare. According to the teacher: these students’ first language is English. Even though their parents talk Cantonese at home, the students rarely do so. Most of the time they speak English, and they can express themselves better in English. Feng (2005: 83) draws upon Bourdieu’s concept of ‘habitus’ to understand her case study:

> …An individual’s discourse does not come from nothing, rather it is a combined product from one’s past experience, history and one’s ability to generate new meanings based upon those previous knowledge and experiences.

This also applies to this case. Due to students’ experience at home, they are not able to speak Cantonese fluently or express themselves clearly in Cantonese. Although their parents speak Cantonese, they were allowed to speak English at home and any use of Cantonese was gradually abandoned. This process demonstrates the phenomenon of *language shift*: ‘Language shift is a pattern of language use in which

the relative prominence or use of the two languages changes across time and generations (Feng 2007: 3). It often happens across generations and there is a pattern that the first generation of immigrant are fluent in their native language, while their ability in the language of their host country is limited (Feng 2007: 3).

At 11:55am, they started to read the text together, and then they took turns to read it again. While other pupils were reading it, Ann chatted with the other girl in English. After this, they were told to open their exercise books to Page 26 at 12:03pm. Xiao asked in English: 'is that page 26?' Ann told him in English: 'Page 26'. Zheng also repeated: 'OK, Page 26', and then he repeated the page number in Cantonese. Xiao asked which question it was, Yu pointed his book and said in English: 'this one'.

In many classes, the teacher had to repeat page and question numbers many times (it happened again later in this class too), because the students were not listening and later they would ask: which page? Teachers usually say these short and easy terms like page numbers in English, because it is more efficient and students can understand and listen to them quickly. This involves teachers' 'code-switching'. Gumperz (1982) defined 'code-switching' as: 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems' (1982: 59). Many scholars, have discussed the functions of code-switching. Guthrie (1984) proposed five communicative functions of Chinese switching. Among them, 'for procedures and directions' and 'for clarification' can be applied to this case.

Yan chatted with Pang in English and laughed sometimes. He also took out a phone to play with. Pang wanted to take it from him, Yan put it under the table to play for a short while and put it away. Xiao liked to ask questions, he stood up to show Zheng his book sometimes.

Zheng asked 'Rainbow 怎麼說'（how do you say 'rainbow'） (in Cantonese except the word rainbow was in English). They were able to answer in Cantonese. While they were doing exercises, Zheng asked questions too. Yu answered '新年快樂' (Happy New Year in Cantonese). Zheng said: '對 (Correct), Chinese New Year…' (in Cantonese, the expression CNY was in English).

This is a common way to use two languages to learn Chinese: translate certain words, expressions or sentences to Chinese or English. Students have to understand both languages to answer questions like these. They become more involved in such activities, because they like to show they know the vocabulary and they are better than their classmates. This exemplified McClelland's Achievement Motivation Theory. This theory 'attempts to explain and predict behaviour and performance based on a person's need for achievement, power, and affiliation' (Lussier & Achua. 2007: 42). With three other scholars, McClelland (1958: 181) presented the definition of the need for Achievement:

> Success in competition with some standard of excellence. That is, the goal of some individual in the story is to be successful in terms of competition with some standard of excellence. The individual may fail to achieve this goal, but the concern over competition with a standard of excellence still enables one to identify the goal sought as an achievement goal. This, then, is our generic definition of the need for Achievement.

Daft also described the need for achievement as 'the desire to accomplish something difficult, attain a high standard of success, master complex tasks, and surpass others' (2008: 233). Answering questions or being able to write Chinese characters other students may not know makes them feel a sense of pride and feel that they have

surpassed others. Students are motivated by this and therefore participate and interact more in the class.

The teacher and students' interaction also utilized the function of code-switching: 'for translation' and 'for checking understanding' (Guthrie, 1984). The teacher asked them to translate words and expressions, sometimes from Cantonese to English, occasionally the other way round. This also helps the teacher to know if the students can understand both languages and translate them.

Yan was told to behave by Zheng several times because he played with Pang. He listened and nodded. Zheng asked Yan how to say something in Cantonese. The latter just shrugged which meant he did not know. Pang told him later: 'you don't know how to write it' in English, and wrote it for Yan. Pang usually answered Zheng's questions in English. He was giving examples in English: 'like badminton, golf…'

Yan showed he did not care so much about the class by answering the teacher's question with a shrug. Gardner has argued that a motivated individual is generally 'goal directed, expends effort, is persistent, is attentive, has desires (wants), exhibits positive affect, is aroused, has expectancies, demonstrates self-confidence (self-efficacy), and has reasons (motives)' (Gardner, 2006: 2). From Yan's performance and passive attitude in the classroom, it seemed clear that he lacked motivation. There can be many reasons, both externally and internally. Trang (2007) divided them into four categories: student-related de-motivators, teacher-related factors, learning environment and other external factors. Trang suggested that to overcome students' de-motivation, teachers should stress more the importance of the language and their own determination in learning the language successfully.

Later in the interview I asked Zheng what language he used in the class. He told me he used Cantonese all the time, but students answered him in English sometimes. He had to tell them: 'I don't understand English; you have to answer me in Cantonese'. He did, however, accept their using of code-switching to increase their motivation.

He said: 'I encourage them to talk in Cantonese as much as they can. Just now a student asked a question: "□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ by order?" (can you tell me the things by order later?) Because he didn't know how to say the last two words in Cantonese. He already tried his best to say the sentence in Cantonese, but at the end of the sentence, he could only use two English words to finish the sentence. Actually he didn't know how to express it.' This is a good example of 'code-switching'. It exemplified one of the functions of 'code-switching', namely to 'hide fluency or memory problems in the second language' (Johnson, 2000: 184). The teacher accepted this and encouraged them to talk and answer questions in the class. If he required them to talk in Cantonese exclusively, they may not always know how to express themselves and may become demotivated.

Zheng told them to turn to page 29 (in English), but Yan did not listen to him and kept talking to Pang. Zheng had to repeat himself three more times. After Zheng asked Yan a question from the exercise, he answered in English: 'comma, and these two.'

The break time was supposed to be 12:30pm, but that day the bell rang a bit late. At 12:35 pm, Lan said: 'It's break time' in English. At the break time, everybody took out their snacks and drinks. Yu took out her iPhone and started to play. Xiao was still asking Zheng questions in English when the bell rang. Pang brought a big pack of Cheese Ball snack, and shared with his classmates. He also came over to me and offered me some, he said: 'do you want

some?' I said: 'OK' and took some. Lots of smaller children from other classes started running and chasing each other in the hall, they looked as if they were having fun. Students from my class did not join this game. At this time, Xiao was also playing an iPhone game. The other girl was watching him playing.

Compared to learning a language from the text book, the scene of children playing at the break time was vivid and lively. They were full of energy and curiosity. At the same time, the drama of modern technology such as smart phone games still draw their interest.

At 12:49pm, the bell rang. Lan asked Pang for his snack: 'Can I have one?' Ann was quiet most of the time, but when she talked English, she seemed to be more active. Yan was being naughty and threw Xiao's pencil. It fell on the ground in front of me, so I helped Xiao to pick it up. Ann asked: 'Can I borrow a pencil sharpener?' Pang helped her to sharpen her pencil. Lan seemed to have problems with his pencil and sharpener and he said: 'come on'. After sharpening it, he stood up and walked to the other side of the hall to throw away the rubbish.

Students' stationery plays a significant role in classroom interactions especially in younger children's classes. On the one hand, they use it to study; on the other hand, it can serve as their toys and be used as an excuse to avoid learning for some time. One of the examples I gave earlier was two boys who started to play fighting with their pencils. It happens a lot in my class too. Students always told me they forgot to bring pencils, pencil sharpeners or rubbers. They like to walk away to the bins to sharpen their pencils or throw pencil scrap. This kind of behaviour revealed a lack of student motivation. The model of self-regulation (e.g., Carver & Scheier, 1998; Gollwitzer, 1999) is a key approach to the question 'how do students get what they want?' In

order to achieve individual goals, people will plan, monitor, control and regulate their cognition, motivation and behaviour. Pintrich (2000) argued that recent research on self-regulated learning showed that self-regulated students are relatively more successful in school. They have set goals or plans and they will try to monitor and control their cognition, motivation and behaviour (Pintrich, 2000; Zimmerman, 2000). The young students I observed in the Cantonese class did not do well in self-regulating. In order to be 'distracted', which was 'get what they want', they did everything else except concentrating on their study. Whilst their parents want them to master Cantonese, their own goals seem to involve passing the time with the maximum of fun and the minimum of effort.

Zheng continued to teach them doing exercises. He talked in Cantonese and students wrote. Ann talked to Yu in English: 'I finished…' After Lan came back from throwing rubbish again, he could not find his pencil. I saw that Yan played with it and threw it on the ground. Lan asked: 'where did my pencil go?' he looked at Yan and said: 'give me back.' Then he looked around and found his pencil and said: 'who put it on the floor?'

Yan talked in English and laughed sometimes, he was warned by Zheng. Yu had a tooth about to fall out, this aroused their interest in the topic of changing teeth. Xiao said: 'I just pull it out.' At 1:10pm, Yan's phone rang, he answered a few words in a low voice and hung up. Then he said to everyone: 'Sorry, someone phoned me.' And to the teacher: 'Sorry teacher.'

Students like to talk about things which have no relation to the language learning. Students' loss of interest in the class can be caused by multiple reasons. For example, Elwood and Hood (2009)'s research result revealed that a pedagogy focused on

grammar-translation was a major cause of negative motivation. They suggested that learners' interest should be valued in the class and that to achieve this, more enjoyable activities and social interactions should be adopted.

At 1:14pm, Pang and Yan helped Xiao to write. Finally, the class was a bit quieter and less restless. When Pang's pencil fell on the ground, he said: 'oh no.' Ann asked Zheng: 'what do you think of my answer (on the book)?' Zheng looked at it and said: 'Ok 啊（ah）' (Cantonese way of saying 'OK', with a suffix of modal particle in Cantonese). At 1: 20pm, Pang played with Xiao and talked in English. Zheng stopped them. Xiao pointed to his book and said: 'I finished all.' He talked more in English, Zheng told him to talk in Cantonese.

They started to talk about a market later, Lan said: 'it doesn't make sense, it's a market.' Zheng said: '…supermarket…shopping mall…' Yan said: 'it's just a market.' Xiao and Lan talked more in Cantonese. At 1:25pm, Pang suddenly stood up, then lay on his stomach on the ground. Lifting his hands and legs, he adopted a posture in which he appeared to be flying like Superman. Pang said: 'he's trying to fly.'

The hall became quite noisy at 1:28pm. One lower grade class started to tidy up and move tables and chairs back. My class was talking about the tense of a sentence. Yan said: 'it's past tense.' Zheng said something about past tense, present tense. After the bell rang, Pang left first, Zheng called him back and gave him a hug, they acted like brothers.

Generally, Chinese classes are conducted in a very relaxed way. The discipline is not as strict or serious as in English weekday schools. Some teachers used techniques such as praise, encouragement or enlightenment to motivate students. I asked the teacher of this class what he would do if students started to play in the class. He said: 'Basically, I'll advise them: "actually you spend lots of time to come here and study,

so do I, what is your purpose?" If you ask them like this, they will answer: "I come here to learn Chinese". I can hear they are reluctant, but they have no alternatives. If you ask them more, they will answer right away: 'my Mum asked me to come here'. So we try our best to advise and encourage them: "since you already come here and spend this time; teachers also spend this time, why not learn a little bit? You will benefit from it." Encourage them like this gradually. Normally they will listen to you, and put away their toys'.

According to Gardner, motivated learners have a positive attitude towards the target language and culture and may even desire to be assimilated to the target language culture (Gardner, 1985). Compared to students who are less motivated, learners with integrative motivations can learn the target language more successfully (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991). Thus, it is important to inspire students to adopt a positive attitude through encouragement and praise, rather than criticizing them too much and demotivating them. This was clearly the approach adopted by Zheng.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated how two organisations in Belfast, the Chinese Language School and the Belfast Chinese Christian Church, offered Mandarin and Cantonese classes to children in Belfast in specific locations, a primary school and a church building. These locations provided a social space where pupils could improve their language skills and get a sense of belonging to a 'Chinese' community. On further investigation, the label 'Chinese' in fact covered a varied group of individuals with different linguistic backgrounds: Cantonese speakers, Mandarin speakers, and

children who had different levels of command over the language and were often most fluent in English. Teachers and pupils also had different histories of migration that influenced their identification with 'Chinese' others. In the case of the children, their family backgrounds, in particular, the degree to which they were exposed to and used Cantonese or Mandarin at home, affected their ability and willingness to learn in different ways. In the case of the children, their age was also a major factor, as will be further explored in Chapter 7.

The analysis showed that both teachers and pupils were engaged in practices of code-switching. The teachers switched from Mandarin or Cantonese to English and back, mostly with the aim of motivating their pupils to learn and help them understand the language. They also used code-switching during their breaks; Cantonese speakers tended to strike up conversations with each other in Cantonese and Mandarin speakers did the same in Mandarin. The fact that Cantonese speakers often had some level of Mandarin, but Mandarin speakers had no knowledge of Cantonese resulted in some imbalance. It also brought home that the notion of shared 'Chineseness' was a social and cultural construct. 'Chineseness' not only referred to an imagined shared community and common heritage, but also foregrounded China as a political state, side-lining other relevant states such as Taiwan.

The detailed analysis of classroom dynamics provided an insight into pupils' motivations, or lack of motivations, to participate in the class and pay attention to the teacher. Regarding the first question 'what do students want?': rather than coming to learn a second language, younger students tended to see this as a fun time with friends on weekends. It is not a very serious class with strict discipline for them.

They have chances to interact with other Chinese children with similar situations to them on this occasion and feel they belong to a group (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). The second question is ‘what motivates students in the classroom?’ This depends to a significant degree upon the teacher. The teacher in this class was encouraging and created opportunities like ‘natural communication’ (Krashen 1987) and allowance of ‘code-switching’ (Gumperz 1982) to encourage students’ participation in the class. Students were also motivated by their own success and achievement in the class which was discussed in McClelland’s Achievement Motivation Theory (1958: 181).

The last question is: ‘do students know what they want or what motivates them?’ (2003: 669-682). From students’ learning attitude and behaviour in the class, we can see that they may not really understand the meaning of being in a second language class, and they lack motivation. Bock stated that there can be a cost to learn a skill (2009: 22-23). Young students sacrificed their weekend time to learn something may not benefit them immediately. It may therefore be hard for them to understand the advantages of this learning and to feel motivated. Pintrich (2003: 679-682) also asks, however, ‘how does motivation change and develop? What is the role of context and culture?’. These questions will be addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 ‘Chinese’ language attrition in Northern Ireland

Introduction

A migrant Chinese mother wrote the following sentence in her blog: ‘(migrant Chinese children) learning Chinese is a pain in many migrant Chinese mothers’ hearts’. She expressed her pride in five thousand years of Chinese culture, and her hope that her child could inherit this splendid tradition. She always told her child: ‘you are a Chinese, so learning Chinese is necessary’. She continued: ‘the fact is, learning Chinese abroad is a miserable process. There was shouting and tears, and the most disappointing thing was, there was no improvement’. Her son, she told me, always forgot what he had learned the day before. After three years Chinese learning, he still could not recognise the word ‘new’ (新). [51]

The original schedule for my PhD was interrupted when I became pregnant and had a child in 2014. Being the mother of a very young child and the wife of an Irish husband gave me an interesting insider’s perspective on language learning, identification through speech, and intergenerational dynamics.

In September 2016, I had a chat with Liang: a south Belfast Sure Start worker who worked mainly with Chinese families and their young children. I knew her because my son, Leon, now two years and five months old, had joined the playgroup she organised for Chinese mothers and their toddlers. Besides the playgroup, we also met out of her working hours on trips organised by Sure Start, went for walks in the park,

[51] ‘孩子的中文是妈妈们心中永远的痛 如何教孩子学中文’ on http://www.iask.ca/info/edu/2011/0902/90109.html.

and met up for tea, thus becoming good friends. Liang was originally from HK, and moved to NI when she was in primary school Grade Four. She did not have children herself but I could see she liked her work and really cared about Chinese mothers and children. She always contacted and visited Chinese mothers and tried to provide opportunities and information for them to bring their children to join community activities. She always asked about Leon's progress when we met and she was happy to see Leon's smallest improvements.

At a recent meeting, we chatted about language learning and Liang told me of her seven cousins, none of whom could speak any 'Chinese'. She told me that they were not interested in learning Cantonese, adding that they were completely 'banana' people. As explains earlier in chapter four, this word refers to 'westernized Chinese descendants' (Wang 2002: 151). They perceived themselves as local people, as Britons (because of their passports) and Irish (living on the Irish isles) that were no different to local white people. Only the oldest cousin, who was in his thirties, now regretted that he had not learned Cantonese. He is a qualified gym coach, but was unable to find employment in NI after graduation, so had migrated back to HK where he was belatedly attempting to learn Cantonese. While he was in school and university, he felt no different from local white people, but after graduation, when seeking employment, he started to suspect that his failure was due to discrimination as a result of his Chinese appearance. Liang also shared her own experience of discrimination in NI. Her co-workers were local white people who were friendly people to her, but she overheard them saying that too many immigrants were taking their jobs and school spaces for their children. This made her feel unwelcome. The existence of unequal treatment and discrimination may push migrants to leave NI or at least motivate a desire to know more about China and its languages and culture.

The story of Liang's cousins demonstrated that it is important to investigate individuals' experience and their social networks rather than simply labelling them as part of a 'Chinese' or 'linguistic' community. As Amit (2002: 4-5) stressed, individuals' perception of 'community' and their 'sense of contextual fellowship' cannot be taken for granted and is a dynamic process that may be reflected in their fluctuating (un)willingness to learn a language. Talking to their parents, the cousins claimed that they did not feel they belonged to a Chinese community or that they were Chinese because they were born in NI and surrounded by local students and friends. Rapport noted that it is individuals' 'right to resist and opt out of the norms and expectations of particular social and cultural groupings and chart their own course' (2002: 108-109). However, Liang's story, and that of her eldest cousin, also show that structural racism may mean that physical appearance can limit individuals' freedom to successfully resist expectations concerning social identity, and claim full membership of other groups. The eldest cousin realised that there were physical differences between him and local people, and as a result of that, suspected that he was being treated unequally whilst Liang felt separated from her co-workers as a result of overheard comments that they had shared with each other but not with her.

Many first generation Chinese immigrants wished to maintain their mother tongue and pass it on to the next generation, as discussed in the previous chapters. As illustrated by the examples above, they put much effort into this, but in many families, the results are not satisfying for parents. Maintaining Chinese languages in NI is a difficult process. This chapter analyses the reasons for Chinese language attrition among second and third generation Chinese in Northern Ireland. I will apply theories of language attrition in linguistics, theories of motivation, diaspora,

community and individuality to analyse what Chinese migrants told me during interviews.

7.1 The study of language attrition

Language learning can be a medium through which diasporic identity and community is reinforced, however, knowing Mandarin or Cantonese is not central to the identification process all the time. This is one of the reasons why language attrition happens. Petra Prescher from Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, The Netherlands noted that bilingual immigrants' first language attrition usually appear while living in a second language environment for an extended period of time (2007: 189). Language forgetting has been studied by applied linguists for about two decades (Ibid: 191). As American linguist Roger Andersen (1982: 86) argued,

> Language attrition is a special case of variation in the acquisition and use of a language or languages and can best be studied, described, documented, explained and understood within a framework that includes all other phenomena of language acquisition and use (1982: 86).

As will become clear in this chapter, the infrequent use of Mandarin and Cantonese by the children in this study is directly related to the dominance of English in their everyday environment.

The studies of language attrition started in May 1980 at the University of Pennsylvania conference 'The Loss of Language Skills' organised by Richard Lambert (van Els 1986: 3). About half of the published papers during the first decade after the Upenn conference volume concentrated on methodologies. Andersen

(1982), in his seminal paper, raised several research questions about language contact. He took a broad definition of language attrition which included language death, language loss, and maintenance in immigrant and minority communities, and he explored various degrees of forgetting a language. He suggested four interrelated vantage points as the focus of new language attrition research, namely '(1) language use, (2) linguistic form, (3) compensatory strategies, and (4) nonlinguistic consequences of linguistic erosion' (1982: 113). There are three crucial areas for language attrition in his hypotheses. The first is 'quick retrieval of appropriate vocabulary and idiomatic phrasing in on-going speech production'; the second is 'weak points' ('complexities, late-acquired forms and constructions, etc.') in a linguistic system. The 'weak points' in individual's competence will be the first affected during attrition. He explained 'weak points' as linguistic features that one spent the longest time to master, they were also the most difficult parts to maintain; and at this time, the competence of a person's language would gradually transform to language attrition. The final area is socio-affective factors and their interrelationship with linguistic and cognitive factors (113-114).

In this chapter, I focus on language maintenance and attrition. Language death or loss is still unpredictable, but it is not difficult to identify the degree of migrant children's language forgetting. My research tends to support both Anderson's (1982) identification of 'weak points', due to individual differences and his attention to socio-affective, linguistic and cognitive factors in the processes of language attrition.

Clark (1982) and Oxford (1982) are also significant theorists in this area who have concentrated on questions of research design. Clark suggested changing the

perspective from ‘language attrition research’ to ‘language change research’, and defined the latter as ‘all activities involved in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data relating to changes in individuals’ non-native language performance over time’ (1982: 138). I found these theories unsuited to my research since, for many of my informants, Chinese language was their mother tongue before entering local nurseries and schools. Indeed, some of the CLS pupils in Belfast were not born in Northern Ireland, and had studied in China before migration, so the focus on non-native language is not entirely relevant.

Freed (1982) discussed the state of the art in present research. She pointed out the research area which need more attention was ‘the loss of language skills by those who have studied and then discontinued the use of a second language’ (1982: 1). She noted that at that period, language attrition was a genuine phenomenon and problem, and researchers had limited knowledge about it, but present research indicated problems and possible research areas and answers could be expected from further research enabling the maintenance of first and second language skills (1982: 5). My research goals are similar to those of Freed, in that I intend my findings to help in developing better methods to maintain Chinese languages abroad.

A number of scholars have pointed out issues of methodological frameworks (Davies 1986; Sharwood Smith 1989; De Bot and Weltens 1991; Seliger and Vago 1991; Sharwood Smith and Van Buren 1991; Leets and Giles 1995). Alan Davies discussed issues around the ‘indeterminacy of the notion “mother tongue” and the problems of language teaching provision within normative settings’ (1986: 117). He distinguished two types of minority language education: firstly the mother tongue education of

children whose home environment is already in the mother tongue, which he labelled as 'maintenance plus expansion'. Expansion could include the acquisition of literacy skills. The second type of education is 'official' or 'standard' second language instruction to children who speak a non-official or non-standard language at home. Davies labelled this type of education 'taught mother tongue' because the new language being taught stands for the mother tongue in the community's view (1986: 122). These two types of education have their own purposes. They indicate membership of a community to which they belong or wish to secure entry.[52]

Questions of research design (Jaspaert, Kroon and van Hout 1986; Lambert and Moore 1986; Weltens and Cohen 1989) have also been discussed. Jaspaert, Kroon and van Hout (1986) noted that the main reason for the process of loss is not because of 'individual forgetting or losing some elements or rules of a language', it is the result of 'incomplete transfer of a language from one generation to the next' (1986: 37). As will become clear in this chapter, my research findings regarding language attrition among second and third generation Chinese migrants in NI are in accord with this assertion. Jaspaert, Kroon and van Hout (1986) remarked that therefore terminology and methodology of first language and second language loss should be carefully applied. Their paper was 'restricted to the operationalization and measurement of the extent and nature of the process of primary language loss' (1986: 37). They stated some basic research design differences in first and second language loss. They suggest that more attention should be paid to the 'definition and operationalisation of the point of reference for measuring language loss in the planning of the research and the analysis and interpretation of the data in language

[52] See discussion of language and identity in Chapter 4.

loss research' (1986: 38). They argued that longitudinal design in primary language loss research was very limited, both as a result of 'the length of the time intervals between measurements and of the differences between language loss and language change' (1986: 39). The main research group on which I focused was second and third generation Chinese migrants, most of whom were born in Northern Ireland. Even though before entering local nurseries or schools, their mother language or primary language might have been Mandarin or Cantonese, after entering local school education, their primary language became English. They learn Chinese as a second language at CLS. The language attrition comparison is made between them and their parents or even grandparents: therefore, since the time intervals are very long, the longitudinal method is applicable. Pupils who immigrated to Northern Ireland later and had Chinese education in China tend to lose Chinese language skills gradually. I gathered their language usage and habit over long periods of time from their parents. Jaspaert, Kroon and van Hout's (1986) paper is inspiring in terms of terminology, method and points of reference on language loss and change for this part of my research.

Factors which influence language loss were analyzed in the years following the publication of Jaspaert, Kroon and van Hout's (1986) paper (Lambert 1989; Sharwood Smith 1983). In the nineties, investigations on first language attrition had established an explanatory framework (Schmid 2002: 10): Some of these studies focused primarily on linguistic variables and the phenomena of interlanguage (eg. Kaufman 1992; Håkansson 1995). Interlanguage is 'a term for the linguistic system we can see in learner language when the learner tries to use the language to communicate' (Selinker 1972). Variables can be observed across different contexts.

In Håkansson's article 'Syntax and morphology in language attrition: a study of five bilingual expatriate Swedes', he investigated different aspects of Swedish grammar attrition. For bilingual students, their noun phrase morphology was more affected, but not the word order.

Others analyzed language attrition's socio- and psycholinguistic elements. Ammerlaan (1996) in his PhD dissertation 'You get a Bit Wobbly: Exploring Bilingual Lexical Retrieval Processes in the Context of First Language Attrition' investigated the nature of variables which influenced first language attrition. One aspect he discussed was whether certain types of words were more susceptible to language attrition. He studied 76 Dutch emigrants living in Australia, who stated that disuse of their mother language had resulted in the partial loss of Dutch. His experimental data revealed that more errors occurred when speakers had poorer levels of first language proficiency. Morphologically distinct words were not easy to recall or recognise, and phonological similarity could help. Partially similar words could cause more problems than the words that were distinct in both ways. It depended on the level of first language proficiency. He commented that code-mixing was communicatively appropriate in Australia. It partially explained why dissimilarity did not have a cumulative effect.

Schmid discussed these theories under the structure of criterion and predictor variables introduced by Lambert:

> Criterion variables are the linguistic factors which are investigated by microlinguistic studies of language attrition. Predictor variables are the extralinguistic factors, those features which do or do not influence language

> skill attrition; comprising among other things an individual's personal characteristics, her motivation for the acquisition, retention and use of language skills, the learning context, and the interim use of language, as well as traditional sociolinguistic variables like age, gender, and education (cf. Lambert 1982: 9).

Schmid similarly pointed out that internal or intralinguistic factors only partially determine language attrition. External and social factors are also crucial. These factors include classical sociolinguistic variables such as 'age, gender, education etc., as well as the amount of contact the individual has with the language and the length of stay in the country of emigration' (2002: 19). Schmid also noted that more complex factors operate at the level of society. These factors can be 'subsumed under theories of (ethnic) identity and assimilation' (Ibid.).[53]

7.2 Diachronic linguistics: some examples

'Diachronic linguistics' considers 'the dimension of time and the differing states of a language at different points in time' (Schmid 2002: 7). This approach can be applied to my research at a micro-level. My findings suggest that pupils' language usage changes during different periods of their lifespan. For example, living and studying environments change as children grow. Before going to local English schools, children mostly stayed home with their parents, and the language they used was usually Chinese if both parents speak it. I was surprised when a Mandarin Grade One teacher at CLS told me, when I started my field work, that her pupils' Mandarin level was good. I understood when I discovered that most of them were four or five years old, and had not yet been to local school. They listened to and spoke Mandarin with

[53] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of language and identity.

their parents at home most of the time. I compared this with older pupils who had gone to local English schools, and were more immersed in an English speaking environment. Most of their teachers, classmates and friends spoke English as their native language. Gradually, they would be affected and started talking English more, even at home with their parents. This also applied to children who had not been born in Northern Ireland but had moved here when they were young.

The following interview extract from a pupil's parent demonstrates children's language change over a longer period of time. Lun is a Taiwanese student at the University of Ulster who I knew through my Taiwanese flatmate. He had been a roller-skating coach in Taiwan and was also a member of QUB Lion Dance society. At the time of my research, he taught adults Mandarin in the CLS. I went to his house around 4:40 on a Sunday afternoon after he finished his class in CLS. He had not only agreed to be interviewed but had also invited me to have dinner and then go to the lion dance training together at 7pm that day.

His house was quite close to my flat. I went to his house by bike. I bought a big bottle of orange juice on the way since I knew he had two children. When I arrived, he was preparing dinner ingredients in the kitchen whilst his wife studied upstairs. His two children were upstairs in their own rooms. Then we went to his room where he showed me his Facebook page, telling me that he often kept in touch with friends and former students back in Taiwan. He also showed me photos of them and of his participation in the 16th Asian Games in Guangzhou 2010 as a roller skating judge. Then we conducted the interview, after which, he returned to the kitchen and cooked dinner. With his permission, I looked around the house and took some photos. He

also suggested that I should go to his children's rooms because they had some Chinese books and audio books.

I went upstairs and found the daughter's room, she was watching a cartoon on her laptop. It was interesting to see that she was watching a popular educational cartoon produced in mainland China, which taught science in an entertaining format. His daughter told me that this cartoon had been recommended to her by a friend. She said she did not read Chinese books very often, but she liked to listen to a Taiwanese audio book named 'Happy Three Kingdoms' while doing her homework. Her Dad asked her to play the audio book for me, it was a humorous story designed for both adults and children to enjoy: she laughed whenever there were jokes in it. I asked her if writing traditional Chinese characters was hard for her. She answered that it was OK because she did not always write them in order, but they looked the same in the end. I then went to the elder son's room. He was playing computer games. He said he liked to read Chinese books which were brought from Taiwan.

After a delicious dinner, Lun drove us all to the Lion Dance training. During the interview, he told me:

> Lun (alias): From the second year since we came here (from Taiwan), in the summer holiday, I noticed my two children (ten and twelve years old in 2012) started speaking English with each other. When they were playing, they only spoke Mandarin occasionally, but still when they talked to me, they spoke Mandarin. In the third year, most of the conversations between them were in English. Even at home, or if I'm not home, they still spoke English. If I was around, they would use Mandarin to talk to each other. If we were outside, they

> basically spoke English, they rarely use Mandarin. It's more and more obvious now. They have their local friends who speak English. English is not a barrier for them anymore, so they all speak English.

His children's language choices and usage changed gradually as a result of language contact and the length of their stay in this environment: the longer they stayed in Northern Ireland, the more English they used. Their choice of language also depended on who they were talking to at certain moments. If they were with their father, they still spoke to him in Mandarin.

The next extract is from the interview with a pupil's mother who was originally from Singapore. She had a seven years old daughter, Sharon, and a five years old son when the interview was conducted in 2013. Sharon was one of the two children from mixed families in my class. Her Mandarin level was slightly lower than that of other Chinese pupils in my class. In my record of class attendance, Sharon missed many classes, and when she came with her grandmother or her father the next time, they told me that she had been sick. On one occasion, her grandmother told me that Sharon had missed some classes and she was worried about her studies. She asked me if I could talk to Sharon and help her to catch up. Sharon sometimes listened to me in class, but she liked to play with a Chinese girl next to her: playing with toys, drawing or whispering.

As Sharon was usually dropped off and picked up by her father or grandmother, the first time I met her mother was when I interviewed her. We had made the arrangement by telephone. I conducted the interview at the Student Union of Queen's University on a Friday evening. Sharon's mother, Yang, had just finished work and

went there directly. She was friendly and very cooperative, and she did not mind me recording the interview. The interview lasted about an hour and a half. We also chatted for some time before and after the interview. Her Mandarin was good, although our Mandarin had some different expressions and pronunciations, we could understand each other well, so the interview was in Mandarin.

Yang was originally from Singapore. After Middle School Grade Two in Singapore, she quit school and started working. She had travelled to Belfast with her cousin when she was thirty-two, because she had another older cousin who was working in a restaurant in Belfast. Her boss asked them if they wanted to do a part-time job while studying here, so she applied to the Open University to study English and stayed for one year. During this period, she met her future husband, who was the son of a co-worker at the restaurant. After marriage, she remained in NI as her husband's spouse. She was in her early forties in 2013. Her home was in Lisburn and she worked in a Chinese supermarket in Belfast. She could not give her daughter lifts to CLS because she worked on Sundays. She spoke English, Mandarin, Cantonese and a little Hakka.

Her husband was from Belfast. He had attended adult Mandarin classes at CLS, Open University and CWA in an attempt to learn Mandarin, but had struggled with the language and eventually given up. He told her he could not understand the explanations in the class at CWA, so he stopped studying there. Yang told me that her daughter's Mandarin language skills had deteriorated:

> Yang: In daily life, if I say 'go to get your clothes or chocolate' in Mandarin, she (her daughter Sharon) can understand and she will do it. She could say: 'I

> want water or bread' in Mandarin when she was younger. Now she doesn't speak Mandarin at all.

Sharon's language choice changed over time. The reasons behind it were varied. Firstly, her parents were busy with their work, especially her mother who can speak Mandarin, but she did not have time to teach her the language. Secondly, her father was from Belfast and did not speak any Chinese, so family members could only communicate in English, thus Sharon did not have a Chinese language environment in which to listen and learn. Thirdly, while both Sharon's parents were busy working, Sharon was usually minded by her paternal grandmother who spoke only English. Yang's mother-in-law did not speak Chinese either. Yang hoped Sharon could learn more Mandarin, but she could not help with this. Fourthly, Sharon went to a local Catholic school: her daily activities and socializing was in an English-speaking environment. Whilst a 'diachronic linguistics' approach has shed light on the phenomenon of changes over time, it has not explored the reasons behind it. To do so, we need to look at studies of motivation, introduced in the next section.

7.3 Lack of motivation

The definition of motivation from psychology is 'the processes involved in arousing, directing, and sustaining behaviour' (Ball 1977: 2). From the educators' point of view, it is subjective, and it depends on the values brought by the teachers to the teaching-learning process (1977: 4).

Research shows that language learners' achievement is related to motivation (Clément 1980; Clément & Kruidenier 1985; Gardner 1985, 1988; Gardner &

Lamber 1972). Clément's social context model (1980) discussed two sets of social motivation factors which can affect language learners' communicative competence. They are primary and secondary motivational processes. The primary motivational process means the interaction of two opposite social-psychological forces: integrativeness - learners hold positive feelings towards the target language and community; and fear of assimilation - learners fear loss of first language and culture because of second language learning (Clément & Kruidenier 1985). The secondary motivational process involves the individual learner's self-confidence in target language usage. Clément noted that self-confidence affected second language communicative competence 'both directly and indirectly through attitude toward and effort expanded on learning' the target language (Clément et al. 1994: 441). Learners would have more frequent engagement in practicing the language with a result of higher proficiency if they have more confidence in it. Clément et al. (1994)'s latest study stated that in a unicultural social setting, motivational processes are more complex than described in the original model. Learner's second language learning behaviour is closely related to socially grounded factors, such as appraisal of classroom environment. While in multicultural contexts, 'contact (with target language group members) is possible' (Clément & Kruidenier 1985: 24), self-confidence is the crucial determinant of communicative competence in the second language. According to Clément and Kruidenier (1985), self-confidence includes high self-evaluation and low language use anxiety. Achievement in the target language can be a result of self-confidence. The more confidence one has in one's own language skills, the more regular contacts with the target language, the greater achievement one can reach in this language. My fieldwork suggests that the success or failure of pupils' Chinese language learning largely depends on the secondary

motivational process in Clément's social context model which involves self-confidence. For example, my informant Mandarin teacher Lun from Taiwan expressed the following idea:

> S: What language do your students use with their parents?
>
> Lun: This is funny, basically second generation (Chinese migrants) all use English. Students just moved to Belfast use Chinese with parents, but still use English with their classmates. I don't think it is because they (students just moved to Belfast) can't speak English, they should be able to listen and speak, but they don't think they have the confidence to talk English. I found lots of second generation children, especially those were not born in Belfast. They usually lack confidence in presentations in English. Just like me, I don't have the confidence to speak English […]. They will pick the language they have the confidence to talk.

Ou is from Malaysia, she came to Northern Ireland in 1984 as a student. She was 46 when the interview was conducted in the Student Union in November 2013. Ou graduated in Northern Ireland with a Bachelor degree. She lives and works as a doctor in Belfast. She speaks Mandarin, Cantonese and English. She had a six years old girl, Jane, and a nine years old boy, both of whom were born in NI. The two children went to CLS, one was in Mandarin Grade Five, and the other one was in Mandarin Grade Two. Ou's husband is from Belfast. He was 50 years old, also worked in the hospital and only spoke English. Ou also mentioned her daughter's lack of confidence in speaking Mandarin:

> Sha: Did you require her to speak more Mandarin at home?

> Ou: Yes, but she spoke a little bit, then because her vocabulary is not enough, so she's not good at conversations. She can use words she learned in the text book to communicate, but it's like a prop. She doesn't understand to have a conversation. Her English is very good, because she has lots of vocabulary. She can have conversations in English.
>
> Sha: Did she switch languages with different people?
>
> Ou: No, she only uses English. Because she doesn't have enough confidence in Chinese to have conversations, but she has it in English. She knows she can do well in English and she has the confidence then she'll use English. If she knows she doesn't have confidence in something, then she won't use it.

Self-confidence will motivate students both in class and out of class to use and practice the target language. In Lun's example, English was a second or target language for him and his students who had just moved to Belfast. Because they still lacked English language skills and thus the confidence, they preferred using Chinese which was their mother language, and are not motivated to use English, as a result, they lost opportunities to practice English.

In the CLS classes, motivated pupils could think and answer questions actively, they were also able to talk in Chinese. They became more motivated when they understood the learning content and could follow the teacher. When they performed well in the class, they were praised by the teacher or received encouragement, so they were more motivated, and this became a virtuous cycle. There were also pupils who were not motivated, either because they were not interested; could not understand; or were being forced to learn Chinese. They were usually quiet or naughty in the class and did not want to do any school tasks or homework. If they

received criticism, they could become more demotivated, starting a vicious circle. Here are two examples from my fieldwork interviews:

> Sha: What do your children think about why they should learn Mandarin?
>
> Ou: If they can choose themselves, they won't go to CLS. So only through encouragement from home, school and teachers.
>
> Sha: I used some stickers to reward and encourage them if they did well, and they are happy about this.
>
> Ou: Yes, if she's encouraged, she is happy. If she knew she did well, she will be happy and learn more.
>
> …
>
> Sha: Did they fight against Mandarin learning before?
>
> Ou: Very often. Argument sometimes. They said it was the best if they didn't need to go to CLS. So you have to think of a way to encourage them. If they did well, encourage them and explain to them. Tell them why Mandarin could be useful for them in the future.

Ou's children's motivation originated from encouragement from parents and teachers. This encouragement could be physical, objects or verbal. Her Chinese learning was in a virtuous circle, it can be demonstrated in the following diagram:

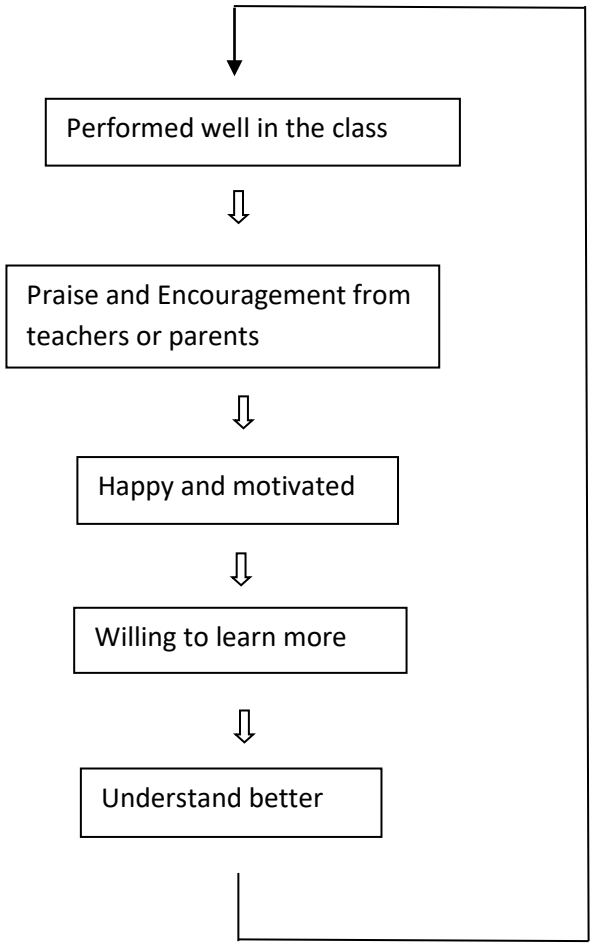


Diagram 1. Motivated virtuous circle of Chinese languages learning in NI.

Another example comes from an interview with Wen, a mother of two daughters. Wen, originally from Hai Nan province, China, was 33 years old in 2013, and was a junior high school graduate. She had not worked in China before emigrating. She spoke Mandarin, Cantonese and Hai Nan dialect. Wen came to Belfast in 2003 and had worked as a housewife since then. Her husband's nationality is Portuguese, and his native language is Cantonese. His educational level is the same as hers and he came to NI with her in the same year. He works as a cook in Belfast. Her two daughters were born in Northern Ireland and they were nine and seven years old. Their nationality is British. They are in P4 and P3 in local schools. They speak Cantonese, English, and a little bit of Mandarin. Wen told me that if their children

initiated conversation in Mandarin, she would speak Mandarin with them. Cantonese was their main language at home, however, and they only speak Mandarin occasionally. She understood that they should speak Mandarin more in order to learn the language, but they were used to speaking Cantonese at home. The children could speak a little in Mandarin with grandparents or older relatives, and they could understand others' talking, but they could not speak fluently.

> Sha: Does learning Mandarin give them stress?
>
> Nan: They are not very interested in it. She spends more time playing phone, the Internet and watching cartoons.

Children's interests can be a main motivation for them to learn something new. They are always more motivated if they are interested in doing something which at this age is usually playing, and with the development of technology, electronic machines and screens seem to attract most of their attention and interest, for example, smart phones, tablet PCs, computers and TV. They could sit down and concentrate on the screens for a long time, but when they were learning Chinese, they could soon lose interest and claim it was boring. This thinking demotivated them from learning Chinese. Because they did not listen or learn properly in the class or at home with parents, their knowledge gradually fell behind and they could not understand in the class or perform well, which could result in criticism from teachers or parents. This could result in more demotivation. Thus a vicious circle starts (refer to diagram 2). Besides these subjective reasons that caused Chinese language attrition in NI, there are objective reasons which add more difficulties for maintaining Chinese language among younger generations.

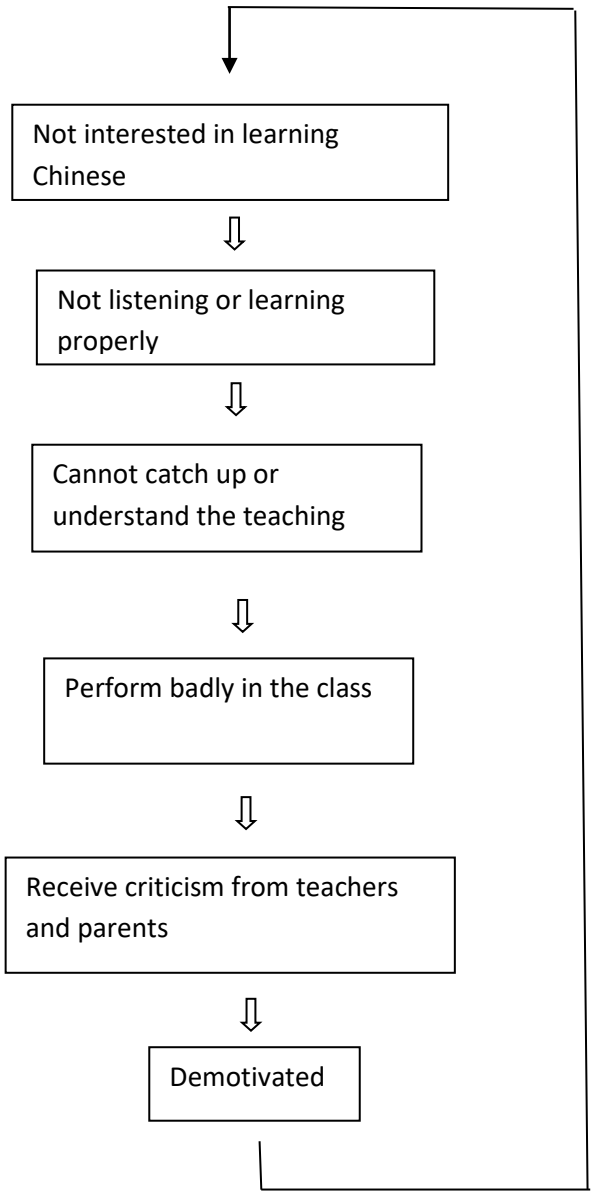


Diagram 2. Demotivated vicious circle of Chinese languages learning in NI.

7.4 **Children's attitude**

> I love my German mother tongue, and I speak and read German a lot. The more emotional the topic, the more I tend to use German (Martin R., Questionnaire) (Schmid 2002: 25).

Affection for one's mother language is obvious in the quote above. It can motivate one to learn and use one's native language. Schmid pointed out the importance of attitude and motivation in individual factors which could affect language change or attrition. Social psychologists have concentrated on learners' attitudes in explanation and investigation of human behaviour (Hosseini & Pourmandnia 2013: 63). The definition of attitude is 'a disposition or tendency to respond positively or negatively toward a certain thing such as an idea, object, person, or situation' (Ibid.). Gardner and Lambert (1972) stated that an individual's attitude towards the language communicates their orientation (either integrative or instrumental) towards language study and can largely determine their motivation in the process of second language acquisition. Gardner (1982) remarked that whether second language acquisition is additive or subtractive bilingualism was largely determined by attitude. Additive bilingualism refers to the process in which second language acquisition becomes an enriching experience. Learners will not lose their first language or their original identity by learning a second language. Second language acquisition in subtractive bilingualism, in contrast, has a deleterious effect on first language or their original identity (Schmid 2002: 26). Schmid claimed that attitude and identity were important factors that could affect first language attrition (2002: 26). Each young child has their own way of doing things, things they are good at and their own interests. Their attitude towards Chinese language learning will be affected by this. Different personalities of children are shown in the following two fieldwork notes.

[Note 1]

A Jiao said they did not have much homework from local school, but Kelly did everything really slow, such as she took about one hour to eat dinner, and she wrote her homework really slow and couldn't finish it. A Jiao used to go to school with them for two month at local school, because they wouldn't go to school if she was not there. Their father said because Yasmine started from P2 in NI, so she couldn't understand and caught up with local children at first, but they were better now. Kelly had even better English pronunciation, spelling and writing than her sister. He said Yasmine's math was not very good at the moment, she could remember the multiplication table, but if he picked one out, she couldn't remember. Mother said Kelly liked drawing very much.

We also discussed how to teach them better. Kelly was very shy and did not talk much in my class. Yasmine was more active.

[Note 2]

Sharon is from a mixed family, her mother Yang (alias) is originally from Singapore and her father is from Belfast. She has a close relationship with her grandmother who minds her every day. Yang and her husband are both working and they have a younger son to take care of. Yang's mother-in-law and sister-in-law agreed to mind Sharon, having meals at their house, giving her lifts and picking her up from school.

Yang told me: 'I've told them (her children: five and seven years old) and explained to them that Mandarin is useful in the future, and you can talk to Chinese people and our relatives in it, but they just kept talking English'. However, her older daughter

Sharon was interested in learning the Irish language and she could remember Irish words and sentences. She often spoke Irish to her grandmother.

My first fieldwork note showed that Kelly had a slow and shy character; she was interested in drawing, and she had good English pronunciation, spelling and writing, even better than her older sister. In Chinese class, however, her older sister, Yasmine, performed better, because she was more active and had better understanding and language level. My second fieldwork note showed that Sharon was educated by her mother as to why she should learn Chinese and she is interested in language, but not Chinese: she still speaks English with her parents and Irish with her grandmother. So success in maintaining Chinese language also depends on individual's character, their own interests and choice. According to Amit and Rapport's discussion of 'The Trouble with Community', individuality and individual differences should be considered in research. In my research, children are the same as their parents in this respect; they have different experiences, backgrounds and personalities. They might be good at Chinese languages, interested in it, have strong sense of Chinese identity or the complete opposite.

7. 5 Difficulties for mixed/Malaysian/Singaporean children learning Chinese in NI

Boyd notes that if immigrant parents are from the same linguistic group, their children are more likely to be active bilingual speakers (1986: 107). Schmid remarks that language use between people with the same first language tends to be governed by personal choices and is largely affected by personal factors, e.g. 'wish for assimilation and/or distance towards the ethnic community of origin or a wish to maintain the native language' (2002: 24). The language environment is generally similar for immigrant Chinese children: in local schools, everyone speaks English, and outside school, people they meet speak English too. However, within the family/home domain, there are differences. Parents from the same origin communicate in their native language; and children grew up in that language environment. In mixed families or families with other origins, children may communicate in English with one of their parents, and the language which children hear every day may not be the same. The Malaysian mother Ou talked about this issue:

> Sha: Compared to other children in the class, your child's pronunciation has some English accent. I can see she works hard and she is very active in the class, but I think it is harder for mixed children to learn Chinese.
>
> Ou: Of course harder. For example, when Jane learns Chinese, she can only read the word first and then speak it, instead of talking first, and then learning words like other Chinese children. She learns words first and then uses them. She can't learn words from conversations.
>
> Sha: What are the difficulties for them to learn Chinese here (in NI)?
>
> Ou: Maybe because they are from mixed families. We don't have many Chinese friends at home or in school. Malaysian people are scattered here, and we grew up with several languages, most of us who went abroad to study speak English.

So English can be the language we communicate. We rarely use Chinese, many Malaysian friends communicate in English.

…

Sha: She answers my questions actively in the class and also often asks me when the class is over.

Ou: She's waiting for the time when the class is over. Because she doesn't understand well, so she felt the time is very long. If you ask her questions, she will answer you. If you don't ask her, I guess she's very quiet in the class.

Sha: She often talks to the girl next to her.

Ou: Because they speak English, and her Mum is from Malaysia too, they are good friends. Maybe she didn't talk much to other pupils.

The difficulty for children from mixed families or with origins in Malaysia or Singapore in learning Chinese was they did not have the same everyday Chinese language environment as children from families in which both parents spoke Chinese: they were not standing at the same 'starting line'. Children from families in which both parents were Chinese already had good oral Chinese ability, because they could hear conversations in Chinese everyday and practice Chinese with them. It was easier for them to learn to listen, speak and even write. Children from mixed families or other origins did not have this advantage either because one of their parents could not speak Chinese, or both of them could communicate in English; and they had few relatives or friends with whom they could speak their native language. Furthermore, as Schmid stated, language use is a personal choice (2002: 24). Even when parents meet with people who can speak the same native language, they may still communicate in English. In such circumstance, children learn Chinese as a new second language rather than as a mother tongue. At their age, learning a second

language at Sunday school could be difficult, their concentration was limited and they spoke English with their classmates most of the time or even to answer teachers' questions. They had little chance to practice oral Chinese if there was not a strictly enforced 'Chinese Language Only' rule in the classroom.

Wen from Hai Nan talked about her daughter's problem:

> Sha: Are there any difficulties for them to learn Chinese?
>
> Wen: They don't understand the talking. They don't understand what the teacher said. I told them if you don't understand, you ask teacher in English.
>
> Sha: I explained it in both languages to her, but she still doesn't understand sometimes.
>
> Wen: It's OK, maybe she's still too young, it takes time.

Wen and her husband speak Cantonese at home, so Mandarin for her daughter is still a new language. As a result, her Mandarin is not at the same level as that of children whose mother tongue is Mandarin, making it difficult for her to keep up with the class. The fact that there are two Chinese languages spoken and taught in Belfast and that many children are growing up in various kinds of mixed families increases the complexity of the issues facing migrant children and parents.

7.6 Autobiographical reflection

As a Chinese migrant wife of a local Irish husband with a two and a half year old son in Belfast, I have firsthand experience of the dilemmas and complexities of raising a child in a mixed family. I had many new thoughts and experiences after having a son, and some thoughts are different from before. Before I gave birth, I had an ideal image: I would teach him Mandarin and he would also learn English from his father and other local people, so he would be perfectly bilingual. I had met many Chinese children who were not competent in Mandarin during fieldwork, and been told by their parents this was either because they were too busy or they just spoke English to them most of the time. I had wondered why it was so difficult just to talk to them in Mandarin, did the parents make enough effort? It seemed a pity that these children missed the opportunity to learn the language.

After a dramatic experience of labour and a prolonged recovery stage afterwards, I had to accept the hardest job in my life: taking care of a baby. It is especially difficult and tiring for a new mother who is also overly worrying and sensitive about her son. Parenting books and health workers always say every baby is different: I believe it is true. My son cried a lot and slept little. I was exhausted from caring for him, and after a day's battle, I just needed to rest in a quiet environment. The ideal image of teaching him Mandarin and him easily learning it disappeared like a burst bubble. Firstly, I had no previous experience with babies: I had never even held a baby before my son. It just did not come naturally to talk and play with a baby for me, even though this baby was my own son. Had I been in China, I might have been able to share parenting experiences and learn from friends and relatives of my own age group who also had babies, but in Belfast, I was on my own, far from my parents as

well. Secondly, I am not a naturally talkative person myself, most of the time I was more interested in observing what Leon was doing or hearing what noises he made than talking to him. I was surprised to see other mothers kept talking to their babies, even just short expressions of what they were doing or felt. I know it is necessary to talk to babies for them to learn languages, and relatives and friends were saying it is your son, it should be natural to talk to him, but I always felt a bit awkward talking to a baby that did not necessarily respond, particularly in public. Other dilemmas arose when people who only spoke English were with us like my husband's parents. if I spoke Mandarin to him, it would appear rude, as if I did not want them to understand what we were saying; if I spoke English to him, I worried that my English was not standard, and they would think I taught him wrong. So I was quiet again most of the time.

I was not sure if this should be expected or unexpected, but Leon's speech and language development was delayed. At around two years four months, other toddlers already spoke sentences and even had logical conversations; but Leon had only just started to copy a few words and interact with us. Nevertheless, these interactions made me feel satisfied and relieved. When I noticed his delayed development in language and social skills, I asked my husband to talk and teach him English more as well. At this stage, I do not mind speaking English or Mandarin to him, I am happy enough as long as he is learning. I read and was told by the health visitor that children from bilingual families often start talking later; and my husband found some techniques to help: one being that I should only speak Mandarin and my husband should only speak English to him, so the child will not be confused. Friends and relatives always asked me which language I used to talk to him when they first saw

Leon, most of them from NI would suggest that I should talk to him in Mandarin, or even only Mandarin. Some friends in China were envious that Leon had such a good environment and opportunities to learn both Mandarin and English. After living in Belfast for eight years, my own language usage was inevitably affected too. I found it easier to use some simple English expressions, even when just at home with Leon, such as 'OK; good boy; great…'. It felt like I had to make a special effort to talk to him in Mandarin, because there were no other partners with whom to speak the language. At the moment, he speaks more English words than Mandarin ones, and I am happy he has made progress, but occasionally, I think: it would be better if he could say that in Mandarin too. I also had moments that I felt proud of myself. Leon can understand simple Mandarin instructions because I often talk to him in Mandarin at home. When my Chinese relatives or friends visited and discovered that Leon could understand Mandarin, they immediately started talking and playing with Leon in Mandarin, making us feel part of a big family and bringing us closer by speaking the same language.

As Leon grows up, there will be some big decisions for us to make for him, such as where he will go to primary school. It will be easier for him and us to just let him go to a local primary school in Belfast, because we have been living here for so long. My father-in-law once suggested to my husband that he thought Leon should go to primary school in China, so he can learn Mandarin and Chinese culture. My friends and relatives also support the idea of bringing Leon back to China for primary school education. I am keen to do so too, because that will be the best chance and time for him to learn Mandarin. If he studies in NI, even if I do my best to teach him and he goes to Sunday CLS, his Mandarin level will still be far behind his counterparts in

China. By studying in a primary school in China, he is also likely to acquire better math skills and be more tolerant to stress and a tougher lifestyle. I would not be too concerned about his English in China, because it is a compulsory course in schools and my husband Séamas can also teach him. However, there are always complications: the first is Leon's visa. China does not admit dual nationalities, so if he is already an Irish citizen, he cannot have 'Hu Kou' which is individual registration within each province in China. Without Hu Kou, he cannot go to an ordinary primary school, he would have to go to an International primary school, and I would have to apply for a long term Chinese visa for him. I will also need to decide my own nationality and visa. Secondly, Séamas will not be used to the life in China and is likely to miss home. Thirdly, I am concerned about a range of wider problems in China including air pollution, food safety and general safety. Fourthly, I will feel less personal independence and freedom in China due to the strength of extended family ties which could lead to pressure from relatives regarding my lifestyle and Leon's education. Fifthly, life in China requires the negotiation of highly complex *guan xi* relationships, unequal relationships between superiors and subordinates, staff and customers in work places. Although I am still hesitating and have concerns with both decisions, I think I will judge which is best for my son and overcome these difficulties. These experiences, however, have opened my mind to the various dilemmas faced by other migrant parents and increased my understanding of the difficulties of negotiating different languages and cultures in a complex migrant setting.

A central cause of language attrition among all migrant Chinese children is lack of language contact, and this is more common for children from mixed families and families with members who originate from countries other than China.

7.7 Lack of language contact

Schmid notes that it is generally agreed that extensive language contact is largely related to language change (2002: 7). Studies on language contact began with Weinreich's (1953) work on multilingualism and language contact. Studies from the second half of the 18th century focused on language shifts amongst whole communities. Recent research focuses on the linguistic changes of individuals (2002: 7). Schmid reveals that people's language contact relies on two factors: opportunity and choice. The first factor is beyond the control of individuals. The second largely depends on individuals (2002: 23).

Many of my informants emphasized the importance of language contact. One of the reasons children of Chinese descent in Northern Ireland cannot speak Chinese fluently is because there was not enough Chinese language contact.

Jane was one of the two girls in my class who were from mixed families. My impression of her was of a girl who was quiet and hardworking. I remember that she usually kept writing Chinese characters even at the break time. Her Mandarin level was slightly lower than most of the class, but she was very well behaved and listened to the teacher. Her mother, Yun, had two daughters aged five and seven when the interview was conducted in 2013. We did the interview over two Saturday afternoons because the first time, she was very busy and had to leave after half an hour. She

drives her two daughters to attend a singing, dancing and drama lesson at a church every Saturday afternoon, but the younger one just stays with her in the car, so we did the interview in the car at the church car park, and she allowed me to use the recorder. Before the interview, judging from her clothes and the way she talked to her daughters, I formed the impression that she was a very efficient and experienced mother. She talks and does things fast, probably because she and her daughters have really tight schedules.

Yun is from Singapore, her family originated from Fu Jian, China. She has been living in Northern Ireland for almost seventeen years and is now in her late thirties. Yun has a Doctoral Degree in Electrical Engineering from a university in NI and is now teaching at university. She speaks Mandarin, English and Taiwan dialect. Her husband is from Northern Ireland and is the same age as her. He also has a Doctoral degree in Electrical Engineering from the same university, where he is now an engineering researcher. He speaks only English. Their two daughters were born in NI and are in primary school Levels One and Three. They mainly speak English.

I asked Yun if she thought there were enough Chinese learning resources in Northern Ireland. She answered as follows:

> Yun: Of course not enough. Far from enough compared to Singapore's. I grew up in Singapore, we learned two languages, and there were people talking Mandarin or a Chinese dialect like Cantonese or Fu Jian dialect everywhere, even though you don't speak Mandarin, your listening is fine […]. The Chinese language doesn't have big effect here. There are no Chinese language TV programmes or cartoons. You can only play them on the Internet or Youtube. There is no Chinese music on the radio; no Chinese magazines and nobody

around them talks Chinese. If I don't teach them here in the future, they won't remember anything. There is no such background here.

Yun's experience demonstrated the language contact theory. The more contact you have with a language, the less likely it is that you will forget it. This is not only true of children; even Chinese adults who had Chinese education in China told me that they were forgetting how to write certain Chinese characters, because they had not written Chinese for so long. Gradually, this lack of frequent exposure to a language can result in language loss or even 'language death' (Crystal 2002). Yun's concern was primarily with the environment, over which she had little control. The following conversation with the Malaysian mother is about their personal language choices, which were subjective.

Sha: Do you speak Mandarin at home?

Ou: Rarely, we speak English most of the time when they are at home. So she doesn't understand Chinese conversations. She translates into English at home, she understands the meaning of English first, then learn Chinese.

Sha: Did you try to speak Mandarin to her since she was born, but she speaks English gradually?

Ou: Yes, when she could talk, she spoke English already. So she rarely talks Mandarin. If I speak Mandarin to her, she answers in English (laughs).

Sha: Why? Because local schools and her father all speak English?

Ou: because I don't have other people to talk Mandarin with at home. If she goes to nursery, of course they all speak English. Only she and me have very little time. If we talk at home, at first we said using Mandarin, but it didn't happen.

Sha: Maybe that's why their Chinese have different levels. In Chinese families, both parents speak Chinese at home, and their children's Chinese would be better.

Ou: Correct.

Children in Ou's family did not have enough contact with Mandarin because they rarely speak it at home, thus her daughter could not understand Mandarin conversations, had little vocabulary and had lost confidence in speaking it. The reason Ou did not use Chinese was because she did not have a partner with whom to speak the language. Sometimes she and her daughter agreed to have conversations in Mandarin, but they always ended up talking English again. Her daughter's English was in a completely opposite situation. She had sufficient contact with English language from parents, friends and schoolmates. She understood it and had built up her vocabulary, along with her confidence, therefore she was willing to speak it.

As discussed in the literature review, most of the Chinese families in Northern Ireland are transnational immigrants. Migrants from different places were 'forging and sustaining multistranded social relations that linked their societies of origin and settlement. The term 'transmigrants' emphasized the emergence of a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders' (Glick-Schiller and Blanc Szanton 1992: ix). Schiller argued that 'contemporary immigrants are transmigrants, which means they still keep multiple linkages to their homeland although they stay in a new country' (1995: 48). From the conversation below, we can see that Ou's family is a transnational family. They keep in touch with relatives in Malaysia and they visit home regularly. However, these

limited contacts did not ensure enough exposure to their mother tongue and she explained why.

> Sha: Did she speak English with relatives back in Malaysia?
>
> Ou: Yes, English, because my nephew and niece can all speak English. My mother can speak a little bit English, so she spoke English with her too. Her grandmother also encouraged her to speak Mandarin, but her vocabulary was very little, she just talked a few words in Mandarin, then the rest was all English.
>
> Sha: There are lots of Chinese organisations and cultural activities, like Chinese New Year, Chinese Mid-Autumn Day. They are full of Chinese characteristics.
>
> Ou: We brought them to those events, but not much communication in Mandarin, only at home and CLS.
>
> …
>
> Sha: Did you help her to learn Mandarin at home?
>
> Ou: Just like after school class, using the Chinese text book to review, but the time is quite short. We try to do it three to four days a week, and half an hour each time, also not to affect her other after school activities and school study.
>
> Sha: Did you provide other Chinese materials for her?
>
> Ou: I have a lot of Chinese books, but there's not enough time. Their concentration time is very short too. I don't want to push them, if they can learn and remember something in this half an hour, it is better than make it to one hour, but the second half didn't learn anything. They would be reluctant to learn and it's a waste of time.

Sha: What about Chinese TV programs, cartoons or some Internet learning? It is fun for them, and they can learn something too.

Ou: I don't have those, like videos, DVDs or cartoons. We are also very careful with their internet using. They have very limited entertaining time. They like to watch their English programmes, so I let them have some relaxing time, but there are no Chinese channels or programmes. Because I don't think they are used to that accent. They won't understand it. When we went back to Malaysia, we watched TV, they didn't understand it, because they spoke too fast. They were not familiar with those words.

…

Sha: Do you think they have enough resources learning Mandarin here? Such as materials, language environment, etc.

Ou: I don't think it's enough, maybe not enough Chinese language culture here. They grew up here like local children. So I bring them back to Malaysia every year, using travelling to show them Chinese language and other countries' culture and also to see relatives. It has very little here.

A number of issues emerged in this conversation. Firstly, Malaysia is a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual country, many people can speak English including Ou's young family members. Her daughter still spoke English with them. Even though her grandmother encouraged her to speak Mandarin, she only tried a few words then spoke English again due to lack of vocabulary. Secondly, in the Chinese diasporic context in Northern Ireland, Chinese immigrants tried to maintain their culture and language. Chinese organisations held many Chinese cultural events each year. Many of my informants expressed their interests in attending these events, but either

because their schedule was too busy or because their children did not want to go, they did not always manage to attend them. Even if they did attend, children's Chinese language skills were not much improved by these activities, because children did not communicate or learn much Chinese during the events. Thirdly, Ou mentioned the time children spent on learning Chinese was short, because her daughters had other school activities and work to do and also at this young age, their concentration time was limited. Fourthly, Ou had limited access to technological language-learning aids such as audio-visual products or programmes for children to watch or listen to, moreover, she strictly controlled her children's Internet usage. Even if children managed to watch a Chinese show, they would not understand it and eventually they would lose interest.

The following interview was with Nan, a mother originally from Hai Nan, China. The language used at home was Cantonese. Nan's family were also transnational and diasporic immigrants. They had previously returned to China and kept in touch with their relatives there. While in NI, they kept Chinese books at home and tried to maintain Chinese language. Their children's language skills were slightly better than those of the children from the mixed family or Malaysian/Singaporean family. They had more Chinese language contact than the other two families. They could understand Mandarin, but could not or did not want to speak it.

Sha: Do you speak Mandarin with them on purpose?

Nan: Mainly they speak Mandarin initially, then I would speak Mandarin with them.

Sha: What language do you use at home?

Nan: Cantonese. Sometimes Mandarin. We should speak Mandarin more, but we are used to speak Cantonese at home.

Sha: Did she speak Mandarin with older generation like grandparents?

Nan: A little bit. She will talk what she knows. She can understand but can't speak it out. Last time we went back to China, she could understand my older brother and his child's talking, but she couldn't speak out. Maybe it's because of my gene. Because I grew up in China and we spoke Mandarin, we more or less have this (Mandarin speaking) gene. Such as my younger brother's children, they don't understand Mandarin at all.

Sha: I think it's because you talked some Mandarin to her at home, so she understands some.

Nan: No. My older brother's child talked to my older daughter, and she understood most of it.

Sha: She must speak English with her classmates and friends?

Nan: Yes.

…

Sha: Do you provide them extra Chinese books?

Nan: I have, but they don't like to read them and I don't have time to teach them. I bought Chinese books from China.

Sha: Do you think there is enough resource here for them to learn Chinese?

Nan: No, not enough, too little.

The main language Nan's daughters were exposed to at home was Cantonese. The only contact they had with Mandarin was when they used it first to speak to their mother or when they were with grandparents. Nan was from Mainland China where Mandarin is the official language. Because children had heard this language from parents or relatives before, they could understand it, but this contact was not enough

to enable them to speak it. The children's friends and classmates outside home and CLS all spoke English and their parents did not have time to teach them Mandarin. As a result, their language contact was limited.

Lack of language contact is one of the main causes of language attrition. There are also other obstacles preventing the maintenance of Chinese languages in these transnational and diasporic families in NI which will be discussed in the next section.

7.8 Other obstacles

7.8.1 Priorities over Chinese learning

According to de Bot and Clyne, many immigrant groups would rather that their children not use their first language because being bilingual would be an impediment for children growing up in an immigrant context (1989: 171). There have been debates about the effects of growing up bilingual on an individual's intelligence. Simon (1980) noted that there was an increasing interest in foreign languages among the American public due to concerns that monolingualism might result in cultural and economic isolation and the crippling of national intelligence and security. Hakuta (1990) stated that many of the myths about bilingualism in children were negative. He noted that some educators believed that bilingualism caused cognitive, social and emotional damage to children In contrast, others believed bilingualism could stimulate 'the development of a general cognitive function concerned with attention and inhibition' (Bialystok 2005: 417). In the Anglophone society of Northern Ireland, migrant Chinese parents and their children do have priorities in their studies. Malaysian mother, Ou, told me her views on which language to develop first to avoid potential problems caused by bilingualism:

Sha: How long did you stay in Malaysia?

Ou: We went back during Chinese New Year, but not this year, because my older son is in P6, he will have exams next year. If we go back for two weeks in February, he can't go to school. We'll go back in June next year.

They went back to Malaysia every January or February for Chinese New Year. When there was a conflict between study and travelling back for Chinese New Year, they chose to stay and prepare for the local school exam.

The second interview I did was with Yasmine and Kelly's mother, A Jiao, aunt, their father's older sister, A Xiang, and father in December 2013.

One day after Sunday school, I went to the Lee Garden Restaurant with the whole family to have *dim sum* and chat, as previously arranged (see Figure 1). Their father had paid for the dinner but left early for work after eating.

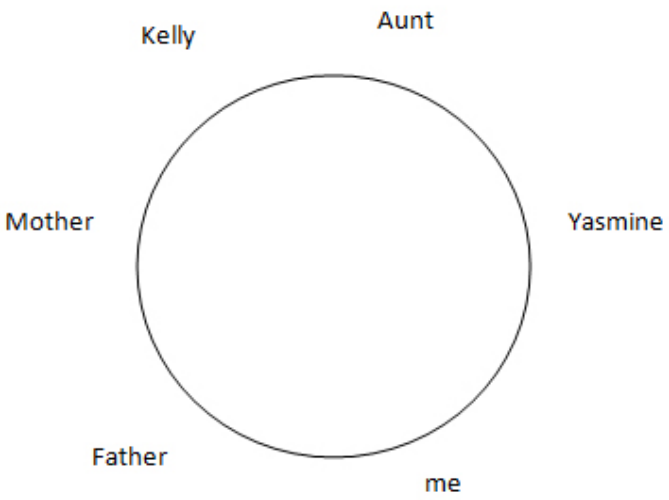


Figure 1. Seating arrangement with my informants at a Chinese restaurant

Their aunt had just come to visit them from China for a short period of time. She took care of Yasmine in China. Yasmine had been in a kindergarten in China for three years. Kelly had been looked after by her maternal grandmother in China. Their parents had been working elsewhere at that time. The father said when the children had arrived in Northern Ireland, they were not close to him at first, but it was getting better. A Xiang said that their father spoiled them a little bit and loved them very much.

The father and aunt were quite dominant. They talked a lot to me. The mother talked much less to me. I did not use a voice recorder this time, and felt the conversation was quite natural and casual. After dinner, the two ladies told me they would like to be friends and keep in touch with me. A Xiang told me that she would like to be my teaching assistant because usually she would either be waiting for her daughters at CLS or doing aerobics exercises with other parents and teachers, and she would like to know what her daughters learned at school.

A Xiang had driven me, the two children and their aunt to the restaurant after CLS. I started asking them questions to break the ice on the way. They were originally from Fu Jian province in China. They also speak Fu Jian dialect, but the two children were gradually forgetting their dialect, and would ask what was meant if anyone spoke dialect to them. They spoke Mandarin at home. A Xiang had lived in NI for ten years. They lived in Downpatrick where they owned a Chinese take-away shop. A Xiang drove about 40 minutes to CLS in Belfast every Sunday. After CLS, if they are hungry, she would bring her daughters to a Chinese restaurant. Today the aunt called their father to join our dinner as well. She seemed to be closer to the children.

She interacted with them a lot, told them how to behave, and made them laugh occasionally.

From what their father said, I knew that he did not want to put them under too much pressure. He was thinking of starting their Chinese learning from the age of seven or eight: not too early, because they had to learn English as well and they also go to after school classes including ballet and piano lessons. Nevertheless, he thinks it is very necessary for them to learn Mandarin, because they are Chinese and also because it is a language ability that will be useful in the future.

When there were various tasks for these young children to undertake; and parents did not want their children to become stressed, they stepped back from Chinese language learning. Parents still understood the importance of Chinese language, but English and other activities took priority. In the meantime, children (and their parents) did not necessarily feel 'un-Chinese' if they don't know these languages very well, or if the second generation was not interested. Rapport remarked that 'attachment to a community should be seen to be a matter of individual choice not necessity or duty (an achievement not an ascription)' (2002: 111). It is also important to learn the skills of the society in which they live and must survive. It seemed that when it came to setting priorities, these families detached their identity from 'Chinese identity', such attachments are not fixed and may change along with time and their social environment.

7.8.2 Lack of time

Many of my informants asserted that they could not help with their children's Chinese learning or spend sufficient time with it because of their busy schedule. I understood this much better after becoming a mother myself. Minding Leon and the increased load of housework and chores took most of my time every day. I even had to bring him with me to meetings with my PhD supervisor. The following conversations regarding this issue were with Malaysian mother Ou; mother A Jiao whose origins were in Fu Jian, China, and Wen from Hai Nan, China.

Case 1:

Sha: Do they like Chinese cultural events?
Ou: They are interested in it. This year the mid-autumn day was on Wednesday and Thursday, we couldn't go.

Case 2:

A Jiao is a house wife, so she has some time to help with her children's school work, but she only let them do Chinese homework on Sunday. They don't have other Chinese books to learn, but they enjoy watching Chinese cartoons.

Case 3:

Sha: Did you bring them to Chinese cultural events, like Chinese New Year celebration, etc?

Wen: She wants to go, but I can't get up (she helps with their takeaway shop late at night). We didn't go to them.

Pressure existed in these diasporic families. On the one hand, parents had to work like other local people. Some parents work very late at night in restaurants or takeaways. On the other hand, they tried to maintain their own Chinese language and taught their children their mother language. Similarly for their children, besides local school work and after school clubs and activities, they needed to learn Chinese as well. When they spend time doing one activity, they lose time that could be spent on others. When they actually spend time learning Chinese at CLS, is the learning efficient and effective? We will discuss this in the next section.

7.8.3 Limitation of CLS education

In recent years, the outstanding results of pupils from China in International competitions such as the International Mathematical Olympiad have drawn attention around the world to the Chinese education system. The UK has started programs to exchange teachers with China, especially in science subjects. BBC2 has produced a three episodes TV program named *Are Our Kids Tough Enough?*. In one episode, it mentioned that 'Chinese education is based on authority, discipline and ruthless competition', and 'in the international league tables, British schools rank poorly in maths, lagging behind many European and Asian countries, especially China'. In China, you can not only learn English, but also learn other subjects in English in International schools or other prestigious schools. The teachers in these schools aim to 'give their students a competitive edge in a global marketplace'.

CLS is different from schools in China, it runs only two hours every Sunday and does not have its own premises, so the teaching facilities are very limited. The rules for recruitment and teaching are not as strict as local schools. Compared to the primary school in China, the teaching and learning style in CLS is very relaxed, the comparison pictures below (see figure 2) are from CLS in Northern Ireland and a common primary school in China. We can see the differences of the state of the classrooms and pupils in two pictures. In the first picture: pupils sit anywhere they like in the classroom, usually with their friends or relatives. They are more likely to play or talk during the class. Their postures reveal their attitudes. Some pupils sit straight, but some look tired or bored, they are supporting their head with their arms, almost lying their upper bodies on the desk. Some are not listening or looking at the teacher and the board, instead, they are doing something on their own notebook. In the second picture, although it does not show where they should sit, from my own experience, pupils' seats are fixed. Everyone has a partner, usually shorter pupils will sit in the front rows, but also depending on their school record, well performing pupils will sit in front. If two pupils were naughty or often talked in the class, their seats would be adjusted and they would be separated. There are standard postures for different purposes too. For example, when you are listening to teachers, you should sit straight with hands back. You should lift your book on the desk when you are reading. When you have a question or want to answer questions, you should put up your right hand, the elbow should be bent and supported on the desk, not straight. These are some of the rules which help teachers discipline the class. We can also see that the facilities are more advanced in the second picture. They use multimedia facilities such as computer, projector and audio system. The following interview extract shows parents concerns about the education in CLS.

Figure 2. Pupils learning Chinese in a class at CLS NI and in a primary school in Chong Qing, China[54].

Sha: Compared to local schools, do you have any suggestions for CLS?

Ou: It's hard to say, because pupils have different Chinese levels in the class, some pupils find Chinese conversations very easy; their age gap is big too. Jane is six years old this year, so maybe she's a little bit older than others. Her Chinese level is far behind others', especially conversations. The local school has separate curriculums for pupils with different levels. CLS is not as strict as this.

CLS time is very short too, it can't suit every pupils' learning speed. Pupils can't have as much time as in local schools. Jane needs lots of time and help to learn Chinese at home, she doesn't understand the conversations in the class. She can only understand it if they are translated into English. She felt she didn't understand the Chinese conversations in the class and what the lesson taught last year. It was hard to catch up.

[54] Image from http://www.cq.xinhuanet.com/2012-04/11/c_111762776.htm.

Ou had concerns with pupils' different ages, learning abilities or speed and language level in the same class. Older pupils and pupils whose language level is higher understand teaching more easily and perform better. On the contrary, younger pupils and pupils with lower language levels might not understand the teaching or perform well in the class. She also mentioned that the time that pupils had to learn in CLS was not sufficient.

Yasmine and Kelly's father offered suggestions as to the teaching content and method of teaching in CLS. He suggested they could start from very basic knowledge like Pin Yin and strokes just as he learned at primary school in China. They also asked me to pay more attention to Kelly and help her more in the class and be strict with both girls. I suggested separating them in class, so that Kelly could be more independent and not rely on her sister, to which they agreed.

Ye Li of Suffolk County Community College suggested that teaching Chinese as a foreign language is different from teaching Chinese classes at primary schools in China.[55] For Chinese language beginners in western countries, Pin Yin (the pronunciation system) is the easiest part to learn. Writing characters is the hardest. Teachers should teach the easiest part first, thus avoiding pupils' fear of difficulties, and stimulating their learning initiatives. After understanding and remembering Pin Yin, students should start from simple conversations or oral Chinese on the text book. They can ignore the characters first, only reading Pin Yin. After they have mastered correct pronunciation, and can speak and listen to simple conversations; teachers may teach characters which have few strokes. I partially agreed with

[55] Ye Li, '初级汉语教学的顺序——说、听、读、写'. SUNY at Suffolk County Community College http://www.clta-gny.org/10conf/speakers/Ye%20Li.htm

Yasmine and Kelly's father about the teaching content at CLS. The teaching order should be similar to that in China, but because the students are different, changes should also be applied to suit their language level and understanding. Some CLS teachers I interviewed had different opinions about the need to be strict. They believed that teachers at CLS should not be as strict as teachers in China. They should be like teachers in local schools. Be more relaxed and let children have fun and enjoy themselves, because they were used to this teaching and learning style. However, pupils from my CLS class told me that teachers in local schools have strict discipline too, they have their ways to 'punish' pupils who disobeyed the rules. Some teachers in CLS gave so much freedom to pupils that the class became chaotic: pupils were talking, laughing and walking around and, most importantly, leaving without having learned very much. I agree that teachers do not need to be as strict as their counterparts in China, but they should adopt local school classroom disciplines with which pupils in NI are familiar. When my pupils were playing or talking in the class, I would ask them if that was allowed in their local schools. Their answers sometimes surprised me. The local teachers were stricter than I thought, and pupils were punished if they broke rules, for example, by copying the same words or sentence 100 times, known as 'writing lines', or by standing in the corridor for a long time. When I reminded them that the Chinese class has the same rules as their local school classes, they behaved better and could study more effectively. In this way, Chinese class is not a completely different and strange class for them, they do not need to change good habits already formed in local schools, and this familiar environment can motivate them to study more effectively.

Conclusion:

This chapter examined the phenomenon of language attrition among Chinese immigrants in NI. The fieldwork interviews revealed several reasons behind this phenomenon. There are personal reasons that may lead individuals to lack motivation; there are also reasons caused by external circumstances. These include extra difficulties for mixed/Malaysian/Singaporean children learning Chinese; lack of language contact; other priorities over Chinese learning; lack of time for parents and children to speak the language and limitation of CLS education. I also showed, however, that personal desires are partly produced by external phenomenon. People might think they are individuals with personal desires, but at a very young age, parents can nourish a child and the child might think it was their personal desire to learn Chinese. When parents put in a lot of effort, such as frequent trips to China and grandparents' visits to UK, The situation is created in which children think it is completely their personal desire to learn Chinese languages. There has been a lot of management by parents to bring them to this choice, however. There is no society that is totally structured or totally a product of individual choices: rather, each influences the other.

The situation of Chinese language in Northern Ireland is a coexistence of maintenance and attrition. Identification processes are not limited to knowing, maintaining, becoming unfamiliar with or discarding Chinese languages. Diasporic identities are fluid by nature, and the development of languages among Chinese migrants in NI is unpredictable, but there are expectations and requirements for the social functioning of the family. Most children are, at least to some extent, exposed

to Mandarin or Cantonese languages, and the sense of diasporic Chinese identity and community can be reinforced through learning and knowing Chinese languages.

Conclusion

This research investigated practices of Mandarin and Cantonese language learning amongst children of Chinese origin in Belfast. As a Chinese anthropologist, the prior educational training that I had received in China unavoidably shaped my initial perspective on the project. At the beginning of the research, I had a more or less fixed notion of 'Chinese language and culture', despite my own Mongolian background. I had clearly been influenced by official ideology, promoted by the Chinese state through education and public media, which upholds uncritical images of China as a unified country, unaffected by ethnic differences and tensions. The outlook of many of the research participants had similarly been affected by this overarching view of China and, as I have shown, participants frequently reproduced the discourse of a united China.

During my fieldwork, however, my perception of Chinese language and culture started to change when Chinese migrants started to speak languages I did not understand, namely Cantonese or Hakka. In my fieldnotes, I began to specify which language I spoke on specific occasions with the children, their parents and other teachers in the schools. I never spoke 'Chinese' (which of course does not exist as a language), but conversed in Mandarin with Mandarin-speakers and in English with those whose mother tongue was Cantonese or Hakka. I also became aware of other identity markers when research participants claimed identities beyond 'Chineseness', for example when teenagers talked about Belfast teenage culture, or when parents mentioned specific religious associations. I slowly became aware that strongly ingrained conceptions of a united China largely derived from dominant political

discourses. My research, in other words, did not only produce academic findings, but also had a transformative impact on my own outlook and self-perception. As described in the study, I began taking a more flexible approach to identity formation and linguistic practice, helping me to gain a more comprehensive understanding of my central question: How do practices of Mandarin and Cantonese language-learning by migrant children in Belfast—in Chinese language schools and their home environment—reflect, inform or undermine notions of their identity and belonging?

I found that language acquisition or attrition are always dynamic processes that are affected by many different conditions, including language users' educational backgrounds, their previous knowledge of languages, the age they start learning the language, the kind of social networks of which they are part, their closeness to relatives in China, and their personal interest in China. Migrant parents and institutions such as CLS play a significant role in processes of identity formation through language learning. In the school, the children are provided with the opportunity to learn their mother tongue and to experience a social environment in which their parental native culture is celebrated. It also is a place where their distinctness as offspring of 'Chinese' migrants is emphasised: in this setting, a 'culture' that is perceived as 'foreign' by local (non-Chinese offspring) people, classmates and friends become central. Nevertheless, as I have shown, the children constantly negotiated their attachment to their 'Chinese' heritage, and I found the 'Chinese diaspora' to be a diverse social environment in which individuals identified themselves in multiple ways, experiencing both unifying and diverse notions of self.

Migrant Chinese language environments were created both within Chinese homes and in two main diasporic Chinese language learning institutions – the Chinese Language Schools. These diasporic institutions provided a 'Chinese' cultural and linguistic space within which migrant Chinese parents and children could communicate and socialise. At the same time, the schools presented an image of 'Chinese community' both to Chinese migrants themselves and to the wider English-speaking society in which they were embedded. In creating this image of 'Chinese community' from the diverse geo-political and linguistic backgrounds of those who participated in the schools, these practices could reflect, inform or undermine specific discourses and performances of identity and belonging. At the same time, Chinese migrants maintained a variety of individual differences in language and identity choices and social positioning. A number of motivational factors tie in to the process of Chinese language learning and to discourses and performances of identity and belonging among these transnational families. A sense of nationalism, fulfilment of parental and family responsibilities, personal feelings and pragmatic tactics have been analysed in this work. Generational issues and differences are considered without losing sight of individual differences.

> Anthropological analysis should retain respect for individual cognitive processes and, to this end, apprehend that ambiguous interface between aggregation and individuality. It should take into account both the individual agency which brings sociocultural milieux to life and also the common sociocultural forms and practices by which individuals coordinate their activities and world-views within these milieux. In this way, an anthropological appreciation might be reached of sociocultural milieux as encompassing and composed of individual difference, indeed, in a significant way constituted by it:

> by self-conscious individuals making an ongoing diversity of meaningful worlds through which they continue to move (Amit and Rapport 2002: 138).

Most pre-school Chinese migrant children learned and used Chinese languages at home, beginning intensive contact with an English language environment from the time they reached school age. Once they started school, learning and using Chinese languages tended to be limited to two hours CLS every Sunday and evenings or weekends at home with family members. Even at home, children frequently engaged in a gradual switch from Mandarin or Cantonese to English. Attitudes to Chinese language learning amongst children are varied and frequently change through life trajectories. At times, they may feel reluctant or rebellious and resent being forced to learn their 'mother-tongue' or a 'second language' for which they feel no immediate need. At other times, when communicating with relatives or visiting their home country, they may be enthusiastic toward language learning, and when they grow older, some may regret putting little effort into language learning when they were younger. The attitudes of Chinese parents towards language learning, which influences they way they approach guidance and supervision of their children, can also vary and change. In children's early years, parents sometimes worry about their children's development of ability in the English language if they use Chinese languages at home. After children start primary school and become increasingly competent in English, parents develop concerns that they will lose their Chinese language ability, leading some to insist on a 'Mandarin/Cantonese only' rule at home. On one hand, parents want children to perform well in both English and Chinese languages, at both local schools and CLS. On the other hand, many worry about their children becoming stressed and do not want to put them under too much pressure.

Language learning in this migrant community, then is a contradictory process which requires constant negotiation.

In the process of learning languages and choosing which languages to use, migrants are also learning, choosing and negotiating identities. The 'Chinese diaspora' or 'Chinese community' are not static objects which can be simply labelled and understood as monolithic wholes. The diversity of the 'Chinese community' is emphasised by the fact that two mutually unintelligible languages are taught at CLS, and an even wider range of languages may be spoken by migrants. Although migrants came together in CLS and other contexts such as the Success Lion Dance Association or the Chinese New Year Celebrations to create and display Chinese identity and community, there was enormous diversity among Chinese migrants in terms of their places of origin, political orientation, languages, life trajectories, experiences and character. Many of my Chinese informants were multilingual, and their choices of language were dependent on the interlocutor, context, content and purpose of the conversation. Sometimes they might speak Mandarin/Cantonese to their children with the purpose of reinforcing ideas of Chinese identity and community, whilst at other times, they might use English with them for convenience, efficiency and effective communication.

Other markers of 'Chinese identity', 'Chinese community' or 'Chinese diaspora' are the Chinese institutions and organisations. The two CLSs, CWA and others ranging from cultural to business groupings form a socio-spatial setting within which identities are being formed, negotiated and maybe questioned. On the one hand, Chinese migrants built and maintained these diasporic places to answer a felt need to

engage in Chinese community-making. On the other hand, internal tensions and divisions always exist, along fault-lines ranging from the geo-political and linguistic to those of gender and generation. Similarly, the Chinese migrant's home can also be a social-spatial setting where people move in and out of notions of 'Chinese identity' or 'Chinese community'. Sometimes, they use Chinese languages or require their children to speak the same language as their senior relatives in China; cook and eat Chinese food; celebrate traditional Chinese festivals; maintain traditional customs and stay in touch with their homeland; whilst decorating their house with Chinese ornaments and adding Chinese books to their bookshelves. But much of the time, their everyday lives are little different to those of their English-speaking neighbours: parents help with children's English school homework, drive children to after-school clubs and use English language at home. In setting out a framework to understand these complex dynamics, I developed my argument as summarised below.

I laid a theoretical foundation for the main argument of the dissertation in Chapter 1. I apply theories of ethnicity and identification; diaspora and community dynamics; individual trajectory; migration and transnationalism; linguistic anthropology and studies of Chinese migration generally and Chinese migration in NI in the following chapters. These theories helped to answer the questions I asked and develop the arguments I proposed. Ethnicity and identification are the theories on which I drew to understand the 'Chinese identities' my informants claimed. Eriksen stressed social relationship and interaction in the definition of ethnicity. Social interaction is the process through which identity is always gained and lost (2010: 17). I focused on social interaction at various levels from the familial to the institutional in examining the ways that Chinese identities are claimed, asserted and attenuated in Northern

Ireland, and in particular, in processes of language learning. Theories of diaspora are relevant to this research, particularly in exploring the dynamics of diasporic Chinese institutions such as CLS-NI and Success Lion Dance Association. They provided both sites of community making, and the symbols and image of 'Chinese community'. Within them, Chinese migrants found a platform to gather and socialise, made efforts to maintain their culture and language in NI and presented a public face of the 'Chinese community' to the broader English-speaking society and to Chinese migrants themselves. However, the term 'community' is problematic (Amit and Rapport 2002). I therefore paid attention to the variety of backgrounds; life histories and experience; social networks; and personal characteristics of the individuals who constitute this 'community'.

Theories of diaspora, transnationalism and community helped me to show that the Chinese language schools functioned as social settings in which migrants and their off-spring could claim to belong to an overall 'Chinese' community of migrants, thus performing collective Chinese identity. Diasporic organisations and institutions such as the language schools thus played an important role in local and transnational dynamics of identity formation. As I have shown, my research participants told me they spoke 'Chinese', celebrated 'Chinese festivals', and to some extent shared ideas of common Chineseness with relatives and friends in China. My research stressed, however, the social, cultural and political dimensions of identity formation and highlighted individuality and difference (Amit and Rapport 2002). I showed how notions of a shared Chinese community were actively performed, and that individuals also had additional, more idiosyncratic loyalties and identities. This complex process of identity formation and performance can be partially examined

through theories of ethnicity that emphasise processes of boundary construction between different groups (Eriksen 2010:16-7; Wasserman & Faust 1994: 1-27). As I have shown, processes of contextual, negotiated and ambiguous ethnic identification, can be shaped by feelings of conflict or competition as well as by a need of accommodation with others.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1977) was also applicable to my research, as it helped me to analyse how relationships, behaviour and interaction within the context of transnational families were influenced by socio-cultural habits and embodied practices, learned in the family environment. This was mostly an unreflective process, where assumptions about the 'natural' link between transnational family life and a specific linguistic orientation were taken for granted. However, confronted with children who were born in an English-speaking social environment, parents needed to make more conscious efforts to assure that children could communicate with their Mandarin and Cantonese speaking grandparents who had often remained in China.

Chapter 2 introduced the history and present status and situation of Northern Ireland and the particular impact this conflicted history has had on the situation of Chinese migrants. The chapter explores the push and pull factors between NI and China which affected Chinese migrants' decision to stay in this country. Based on this background information, I adopted a series of anthropological methods in the field which were discussed in Chapter 3: participant observation in two Chinese Language Schools in Belfast; participant observation of music lessons at a local Catholic school; Chinese cultural workshops in local schools; Chinese Lion Dance lessons in Sai Pak, Derry; cultural and school events that CLS pupils and parents attended and classes taught by myself and other teachers at CLS; semi-structured and in-depth interviews

with teachers and pupils' parents, parents in China who immigrated abroad or planned to send their children abroad in the future; questionnaires with CLS pupils; Chinese Lion Dance trainees and one young child who was too shy to be interviewed in China. All these formal research procedures and experiences of working and getting along with Chinese immigrants enriched my research data; raising new thoughts about Chinese language education abroad; they also broadened my horizon in regard to Chinese migrant families and added new experiences for myself as a researcher, overseas student, immigrant and a new mother.

Chapter 4 further explored the linkage between 'Chinese identities' and cultural and linguistic practice. Bucholz and Hall (2003: 373) noted that study of identity always has political features. In linguistic anthropology, identity studies raised questions of 'contact, colonialism, and power between societies as well as political and social inequities within a give culture' (Ibid.). Bucholz and Hall further pointed out the link between identity and language: 'identity is rooted not in genetics but in heritable cultural forms, especially language, which symbolize and, in more extreme essentialist modes, iconically embody an ethnic group's distinctive cultural identity' (2003: 374). Language can represent people's culture, world view and identity. Wu (1991)'s study of Chinese migrants in New Ireland, Papua New Guinea demonstrated that people from mixed families whose appearance does not resemble stereotypical ideas of Chineseness were accepted as Chinese only because they could speak the language. Parents in my research often connected the importance of knowing Chinese language with the maintenance of Chinese identity when answering questions about the reasons for learning Chinese. The relationship between language and identity can be complementary. Claiming an identity can provide motivation to

learn a language associated with that identity: by learning and using the language, one's identity is strengthened and emphasized. Identity is not the only motivation for Chinese language learning, however. According to the records of CLS NI, the number of Mandarin classes and students learning Mandarin has increased every year since the school was founded. Not only do those learning Mandarin include the children of native Cantonese speakers, they also include a number of local British and Irish people. This growth in the popularity of Mandarin, China's official language, reflects changing global power relations as China comes to play an increasingly significant political and economic role. This has inspired many people to start to learn the language for entirely practical and pragmatic reasons. Nevertheless, when individuals come to see themselves as part of this increasingly powerful nation, it can inspire a sense of patriotism and pride.

Considering the life trajectories of Chinese descendants in NI, I analysed linguistic identities in domestic environments first in Chapter 5. Chinese parents in NI created Chinese environments at home for children to experience and feel Chinese culture and learn Chinese languages. They also maintained transnational connections with their home countries. Chinese ornaments and educational Chinese books at home brought back memories of hometown and home country for older generations and could also stimulate young children's sense of their origin. Parents played a role as language teachers, either by organising time to learn Chinese language and culture or through daily life interaction in the target language. Compared to Chinese language school study, the advantage of learning at home was that interaction in the target language could take place over extended time periods and parents' understanding of the personalities of their children allowed them to arrange learning patterns and

schedules that were tailored specifically to them. A variety of learning materials including Internet learning websites and audio books were used to attract children's attention and intrigue their interest in learning a language very different from English. Firsthand experience of Chinese themed cultural events and visits to their homeland provided valuable learning opportunities to children which classes in school could not offer. There were also families, however, in which both parents were busy with their work or business and time for helping with children's Chinese language learning was very limited. In such cases, daily conversation or communication in the target language became the main approach parents adopted to their children's language learning. Parents saw these efforts as a way of fulfilling part of their parental responsibility to maintain Chinese languages among younger generations.

Exploring this phenomenon more deeply, I investigated the reasons and motivation for pupils learning Chinese languages and for their parents encouraging their children to learn Chinese in a country in which the English language is dominant. The majority of pupils were sent to Sunday Chinese schools by their parents, and this was their only reason to be present at school. Other pupils said that their parents had told them that if they did not study hard, they would not be able earn money or find jobs. Parents played an important role in the maintenance of Chinese languages, at least when their children were at a young age. The reasons parents encouraged their children to learn Chinese languages had emotional aspects related to memory and attachment, and the perceived inseparability of Chinese languages from Chinese history and culture. The language could be closely entwined with ideologies of nationalism and feelings of patriotism. This emotional attachment could produce feelings of guilt if parents felt they were not doing enough to encourage their

children's learning. Yet even more important than the emotional aspects of language maintenance were the practical and pragmatic aspects. These could include communicating with older relatives in Northern Ireland or in the home country and translating or interpreting for older Chinese people who had no English skills in Northern Ireland. They could also relate to children's future prospects: the benefit of an extra language qualification would make them more competitive when they were entering reputable schools, universities and companies in the future, particularly in the context of China's growing participation in the global economy. In this transnational context, the expectation or demand for 'Chinese' language learning from afar could seem unrealistic and brought great pressure on the children. However, there is a double advantage in this situation: English is an international language, and Chinese language is widely spoken around the world as well. Bilingualism in these two languages may put children in a particularly advantageous situation. Because parents adjusted their language learning goals for their children to take account of the migrant context, their expectations of their children's skill in Chinese language could be relatively lower than their counterparts in China. Most parents expected their children to have basic communication, reading and writing skills in Chinese and be able to pass Chinese GCSE or A level. Learning and using Chinese languages in a predominantly English-speaking country, then, had emotional, practical and pragmatic dimensions. Unlike French, Spanish and German language, Chinese languages are not a compulsory subject in Northern Irish schools. Some local schools, however, have started to introduce courses on Chinese language and culture. This trend may also be closely linked to the growing economic and political power of China.

After informal preschool education in the domestic environment, Chinese migrant children's life trajectories reached a new milestone - formal school education in both local schools and CLS. Chapter 6 explored the dynamics of Chinese language learning within CLS. Chinese pupils' learning experiences in CLSs had similarities with local schools, however, differences of composition of pupils' background; teaching content and method made CLS unique in some ways. On the surface, Chinese classes at CLSs appear similar to other language classes with young children or local schools: Pupils brought their habits from local schools to Chinese classes: including their language: English; there were good and naughty pupils; each individual had their own character and personality; and teachers had to find ways to attract children's attention and manage misbehaving children. The difference was that although those attending these schools notionally all fell into the broad category of 'Chinese community' or Chinese diaspora members, the great variety of pupils' backgrounds and language abilities constituted a more dynamic classroom environment. Pupils' parents were originally from different parts of mainland China which spoke unintelligible dialects such as Mandarin and Cantonese; from south Asia such as Malaysia and Singapore where there were a number of officially recognised languages, or from politically controversial places like Taiwan and Hong Kong.[56] Moreover, in most classes, there were usually one or two pupils from mixed families in which one parent was Chinese and the other was local British or Irish. Occasionally, there were pupils from other countries such as India. In addition, some pupils were born in Northern Ireland, whilst some had moved to Northern Ireland after a few years of Chinese school education in China. CLS teachers and Chinese migrant parents may have had different opinions on the ways to educate young

[56] People from mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan hold different opinions on where sovereignty over these places should lie. Although Hong Kong returned to Chinese sovereignty on 1 July 1997, in recent years, political controversies have become more prominent among Hong Kong citizens.

children and used different teaching practices to their western counterparts. For example, besides teaching knowledge of Chinese language, teachers and parents' teaching also often involved study of Chinese ideology, morality and patriotism based on their own learning experiences back in China. The connection between nationalism, politics and education could be expressed through the use of the 'national' language in the school.

The learning experience for pupils could also be emotionally contradictory. The majority of pupils were sent to school by their parents. At their age, they could not understand well the significance of learning a foreign language that they did not need to use in their everyday lives. English had already became their dominant language outside Chinese school and even in their families. They frequently tried to find all possible ways and excuses to avoid studying Chinese languages on Sundays, ranging from sickness to attending friend's parties. Yet, once they started their lessons in Chinese school, all the drama was temporarily forgotten as they enjoyed the company of friends who shared similar backgrounds, experiences and languages. Encouragement, praise and explanation of the reasons to learn Chinese languages were important motivational elements for these young children to keep learning and interacting with teachers.

Pupils' learning experience, behaviour and attitude in Chinese schools and at home were closely related to their own backgrounds and language levels; to teachers and parents' teaching methods; and to individual differences such as age and personality. Pupils were often starting from different language levels because some of them had undergone education in China before they moved to Northern Ireland; or because

their parents could not speak English at home, so for them, communicating in Chinese was natural and necessary; or because their parents placed great importance on their Chinese language education and made great efforts to support it, whilst others had grown up in Northern Ireland, lived in primarily English-speaking households or had parents who saw Chinese language learning as less of a priority. Parents and teachers had different teaching methods: some of them maintained strict discipline and classroom rules in a style similar to the education system in China: including more criticism, higher performance expectations and heavier workloads. Others adopted teaching styles closer to those prevalent in western schools: more encouragement and praise, with expectations and teaching methods adapted to a particular child's ability, and smaller workloads. There was also a method used by teachers and parents which appeared effective: combining Chinese and western teaching styles; avoiding the extremes on either side and utilizing the technique of 'code-switching'. Using Chinese teaching style may work for children who became used to it in China, but children who were born and grew up in NI may not be able to deal with the amount of work, stress and criticism, and as a result, such methods can produce resistance, refusal and even rebellion. Individual personalities cannot be ignored: some pupils are better at and interested in learning a new language; some can accept heavier workloads and are willing to make the effort required, whilst others are not. Pupils' language levels and personalities and parents and teachers' teaching methods are interrelated elements that can impact pupils' learning behaviour and attitudes towards Chinese language learning and can therefore ultimately influence outcomes.

Based on the dynamics of identity formation and linguistic practice in domestic and CLS environment, I discussed the phenomenon of Chinese language attrition in NI and the reasons behind it in Chapter 7. Lack of motivation is one of the main reasons that could result in attrition. I analysed two opposed learning states that may be found amongst pupils in CLS classes: one is a motivated virtuous circle; the other one is demotivated vicious circle. Motivation and pupils' learning behaviours and attitudes are interrelated. As stressed above, individual character and preferences should always be considered in the analysis. The special circumstances of ethnically and linguistically mixed families and of families with Singaporean or Malaysian origin could increase difficulties in Chinese language acquisition for children. Lack of language contact is more common in these families and is another significant contributor to language attrition. Other obstacles to the maintenance of Chinese languages include priorities over Chinese learning; lack of time for parents and children to learn the language and the limitations of CLS education. On the one hand, 'Chinese' language attrition revealed a negative dimension in terms of language transmission from first generation to second generation migrants. On the other hand, there is also a positive side in terms of the advanced English language proficiency of the second generation compared to the first.

Although I had detailed plans and preparations for this research in advance, due to time limitations, language barriers and the inevitable unexpected path of fieldwork, some limitations emerged. One important limitation relates to regional, language and relationship barriers during the fieldwork. It was relatively easier for me to gain access to informants who were originally from the same region as me in China, or from neighbouring regions, people who shared a common language with me, and

people I already knew before the interview. For example, one of the longest interviews I did was with a CLS teacher who was originally from north-east China. Even though I did not know her very well before the interview, because we were both from north-east China originally and we spoke the same language, she was willing to be interviewed and told me a great deal. Another long interview I did was with another CLS teacher who was originally from Taiwan. Although we came from regions that were far apart geographically, he also spoke Mandarin with only minor differences in pronunciation and we already knew each other before the interview. I found this informant very helpful and informative during the fieldwork. In contrast, it was more difficult for me to do interviews with Cantonese speaking-people from HK, particularly if they also did not speak English. I always felt like an outsider among the Cantonese circle, I could not understand Cantonese and they did not seem keen to communicate with me either. In China, there are rumours that residents in some regions are not very friendly to people from other provinces or who do not speak local languages. Canton is one of them. Whether my difficulties were related to tensions between Chinese provinces or whether it was purely a language issue is impossible for me to know for sure. The result, however, was that Cantonese speakers were under-represented amongst my informants, as I interviewed many more informants who spoke English or Mandarin.

The second reflective thought on the Methodology was that my choice of words during interviews may have been unconsciously biased. After reading articles and watching some videos of dialects and the official language policy in Singapore (Ng, Patrick 2011; PuruShotam 1998), I learned that abandoning one's mother-tongue is not as easy as I thought, because people are emotionally attached to their mother-

tongue.[57] Oral language in my hometown is so similar to Mandarin, that we had no problem speaking Mandarin, or resentment at having to learn it: in fact, we did not think we had to learn Mandarin, talking Mandarin seemed natural. In my understanding, Mandarin was not only an official language of China, it was also the most widely used Chinese language around the world. In places such as Northern Ireland, however, due to the specific history of Chinese immigration and background of migrants, the majority of them were from southern China where people spoke various dialects, especially Cantonese. That is why Cantonese remains an important language for many Chinese people in Northern Ireland. If these Cantonese speakers decided to learn Mandarin, they would need extra time and effort compared to Mandarin speakers or people who also speak dialects very close to Mandarin.

During my fieldwork, I underestimated the importance of other Chinese mother-tongues for people from mainland China, especially when talking to people who could speak Mandarin or let their children learn Mandarin, in which we knew the context of our conversation. I used words like ‘中文’ (Chinese language) instead of the specific word ‘普通话’ (Mandarin) or ‘粤语’ (Cantonese) during our interview. Because for me, my Chinese language is Mandarin, I initially ignored the reality that for Cantonese speakers, Chinese language would not only mean Mandarin. Cantonese probably takes priority in their daily life, even though their children are learning Mandarin in Chinese schools. I designed questions like ‘Why do you let your children learn Mandarin?’ for Cantonese speakers, but before or after this question, I still used the general term ‘Chinese language’ to mean Mandarin. By

[57] Speech videos done by Lee Kuan Yew and Lee Hsien Loong, previous and current Prime Ministers of Singapore to promote Mandarin in Singapore. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-VAXFVz-r1g; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K9_vURKT20A, accessed 18 October 2015).

doing this unconsciously, I may have led the conversation to focus on Mandarin, whereas my informant might otherwise have focused more upon their mother tongue, to which they remain emotionally attached.

A third source of potential bias was that there were larger numbers of females than males informants. The majority of CLS teachers were female and parents who provided transport for their children were usually mothers. Even if I asked pupils to arrange interviews with one of their parents, it usually was their mothers who turned up. As a female researcher, CLS teacher and mother, I felt female informants were more likely to speak to me and it was easier for me to talk to them as one of them. It is possible, therefore, that male perspectives have been under-represented in this work.

Finally, my informants included larger numbers of adults than children. While my research did not neglect children's participation and their opinions, the voices of children were given less attention in the dissertation. Future research should address this issue, focusing more on the perspectives of the children. The relatively little attention I gave to them was in part related to my choice of research methods. In general, I found that interviewing was not the best methodology through which to relate to children. The primary techniques I used with children were participant-observation, questionnaires, and class-activities such as question time and drawing time. Due to time and space limitations of this study, there was little analysis of this data in the work, however. It should be possible to develop a more in-depth analysis of the resulting research materials in future work.

To investigate children's words, behaviour and ideas and analyse their point of view, current developments in disciplines like pedagogy, sociology and anthropology will be useful. In a recent book Christensen and James (2017: 9) argued that through exploration and explanation of 'the commonalities and diversities in their (children's) social experience across time and space', we can 'better understand childhood and represent a faithful account of children's everyday lives'. Adding the voices of the children would make this research more comprehensive and persuasive. Christensen and James (2017: 3) also pointed out that scholars investigating childhood should see children as social actors who have their own rights in contexts in which children's rights of participation and their voices are often ignored (Roberts 2017; Thomas 2017). Traditionally, children's lives were represented by adult caretakers who claimed their authority over children's words (Christensen & James 2017: 4) and reinterpreted by researchers on the basis of their beliefs and priorities (Woodhead & Faulkner 2008: 13). The disadvantage of such methodology is that children become objects of enquiry rather than being positioned as social actors (Christensen, Pia & James, Allison 2017: 1).

To achieve the above aim methodologically, that is to present a more elaborate variety of children's voices, I would provide additional analyses of the dynamics of the Mandarin classes that I taught, and ask my pupils to make drawings that represent their experience of language learning. As Christensen and James (2008: 171) argued, graphic research techniques enable communication between researchers and children. I would also organise group discussions related to language learning and identity formation with my pupils, participate in and explore in more detail the everyday family lives outside CLS, and investigate the children' life trajectories during a

longer time period. The latter is particularly interesting because children's cognitive competence develops and their social networks and interests change as they grow older. These longer term developments affect their views and perspectives of social relatedness and belonging. Many of the parents I interviewed mentioned that when their children or relatives grew older, they regretted not having learnt enough Mandarin or Cantonese. Because of their (renewed) interest, some of them had again started to learn Mandarin or Cantonese at an older age, but now with much more enthusiasm and determination. Their change of heart signalled a considerable transformation, from having been sent to CLS involuntarily as small children to developing a personally motivated interest in language as adults. A useful future project would be to examine their new motivations. A follow-up research project would also have other advantages. Corsaro and Molinari (2107: 12) argue that the formation of longer-term research relationships of trust between researchers and children and a longitudinal ethnographic approach helped them to gain subtle understanding of children's perspectives. A future aim should be to form closer relationships and develop greater trust with Chinese migrant families beyond CLS over a longer period of time, thus gaining insights about their experiences, practices and identity formation across time and space.

The key issue for childhood researchers is how to best understand, and put oneself in the position of, children's different 'cultures of communication'. This requires attention to participation in 'local cultural practices of communication' used among children, including children's 'language use, their conceptual meanings and their actions [to piece] together a picture of the social interactions and the connections between people through getting to know about different codes of conduct and

communication' (Christensen 1999: 76-77; 2004). It is also necessary to be accepted by children as researchers and understand the ways of acceptance shown by children (Davis et al. 2017). Research amongst children requires researchers to carefully choose research methods in accordance with the people involved in the research, social and cultural context and types of research questions instead of simply put research objects into different categories such as age groups (Christensen & James 2017: 4), paying attention to, and giving opportunity for, different modes of reflexivity (Christensen & James 2017: 5-6). Last but not least, conducting research with children must be based on 'equality, insight and respect' (Christensen & James 2017: 5), and opportunities for reflexivity should enable children to be actively involved in the research process, and not simply being treated as respondents (Corsaro and Molinari 2017: 28).

In my view, research into the changing and diverse perspectives on language learning and 'Chinese' identity of individuals as they grow up from being children to becoming adults can shed much light on changes in Northern Irish society, as the lives of these individuals are shaped in a rapidly changing society that has recently seen a large influx of people from various parts of the world. Such further research will not only produce more knowledge about the longer-term transformations within the 'Chinese community' in Northern Ireland, but also about the complexity of multiple identity formation of ageing individuals in a rapidly changing world.

Appendix 1

(See next page)

Queen's University
Belfast

Belfast, 18 January 2011

To whom it may concern,

This is to confirm that Miss Wang Sha is a PhD student at the School of History and Anthropology, Queens University Belfast, currently conducting research on the theme of Chinese language learning in Northern Ireland. She works in accordance with the ethical guidelines stipulated by the university. Her project started in February 2010 and will take about two years.

As her supervisor, I would be grateful if you would allow her access to your institute.

Dr. Maruška Svašek
Senior Lecturer and PhD Supervisor
School of History and Anthropology
Queens University Belfast
14 University Square
BT71NN Belfast
Te. 02890973879
m.svasek@qub.ac.uk

Appendix 2

Interview Consent Form

Research Project: The Sociocultural Milieux of 'Chinese' Language Learning in Belfast: Diaspora and Difference
Research Institution: School of History and Anthropology, Queen's University Belfast
Names of Researcher: Sha Wang (PhD in Social Anthropology)
Supervisor: Dr. Maruska Svasek and Dr. John Knight

	Please tick box	
	Yes	**No**
1. I confirm that I have read and understand the letter about the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	☐	☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.	☐	☐
3. I agree to take part in the above study.	☐	☐
4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded.	☐	☐
5. I agree to the interview being video recorded.	☐	☐
6. I agree to the use of anonymised interview material for academic purposes only.	☐	☐
7. I agree to the use of interview material for broader public.		
a). Both audio and video materials;	☐	☐
b). Only audio materials and transcripts.	☐	☐

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____

Appendix 3
Photograph Consent Form

Dear parent/carer:

I am a PhD student from School of History and Anthropology, Queen's University Belfast. I am doing my fieldwork at the moment. I will take some photos within the school for my research and they will only be used for academic purposes. To use and reuse any images I need your consent.

Researcher and photographer's name: Sha Wang

If you would prefer that your child* is not photographed, please let me know and I will make sure images do not feature your child. If you are happy for me to use images that might include your child, please sign the form below and hand it back to me.

Many thanks for your assistance. If you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact me. My school office address is: G02, 105 Botanic Avenue. E-Mail: swang10@qub.ac.uk.

Date_____

I give consent for my child _____

to be photographed for Sha Wang's research material at

LOCATION _____

Signed _____

*By child I mean any child under the age of 16 and any young person between the ages of 16 and 18.

照片知情同意书

尊敬的家长：

我是女王大学历史与人类学学院的博士生，目前正在中文学校做田野调查。我将在校园内拍摄几张照片用于我的毕业论文，照片将只用于学术目的发表。为使用这些照片，我需要您的同意。

调查者及摄影人姓名：王厦

如果您不希望您的孩子*被拍到，请通知我，我会保证照片不含您的孩子。如果您同意我使用有您孩子的照片，请在下面签名并将表格返回给我。

非常感谢您的帮助。如果您需要进一步的信息，请联络我。

办公室地址：G02, 105 Botanic Avenue, Belfast
电子邮件： swang10@qub.ac.uk

我同意我的孩子 （姓名） _____

在（地点） _____出现在王厦调查所拍摄的照片里。

家长签名：_____

日期：_____

* 这里的“孩子”指 16 岁以下的儿童及 16 至 18 岁的青少年。

Appendix 4

Evaluation Questionnaire by Chinese Language school NI Sep 2011 &
A filled questionnaire by one parent

Please circle the most appropriate answer. 请圈出最合适的答案

1) Are you happy about learning contents of last academic year?
你对去年学习的内容感到满意吗？

1. really unsatisfied	2. unsatisfied	3. fair	4. satisfied	5. excellent
很不满意	不满意	可以接受	满意	非常满意

2) Are you happy about the opening time? 你对学校开放时间感到满意吗？

1 2 3 4 5

3) What do you think about the learning environment and ambience?
你对学校的学习环境和气氛感到满意吗？

1 2 3 4 5

4) Was your teacher helpful?你的老师乐意帮助学生吗？

1 2 3 4 5

5) Did you get any motivation or encouragement from your teacher?
你的老师会鼓励和推动学生努力学习吗？

1 2 3 4 5

6) Did you have enough time to finish your Chinese homework?
你有足够的时间做功课吗？

1 2 3 4 5

7) Do you agree that learning Chinese is important? 你觉得学中文重要吗？

1 2 3 4 5

8) Did you get any support from you family? 你的家人鼓励你学习中文吗？

1 2 3 4 5

9) Did you think you were benefited from learning Chinese this year?
你觉得今年你在中文学校学习收获大吗？

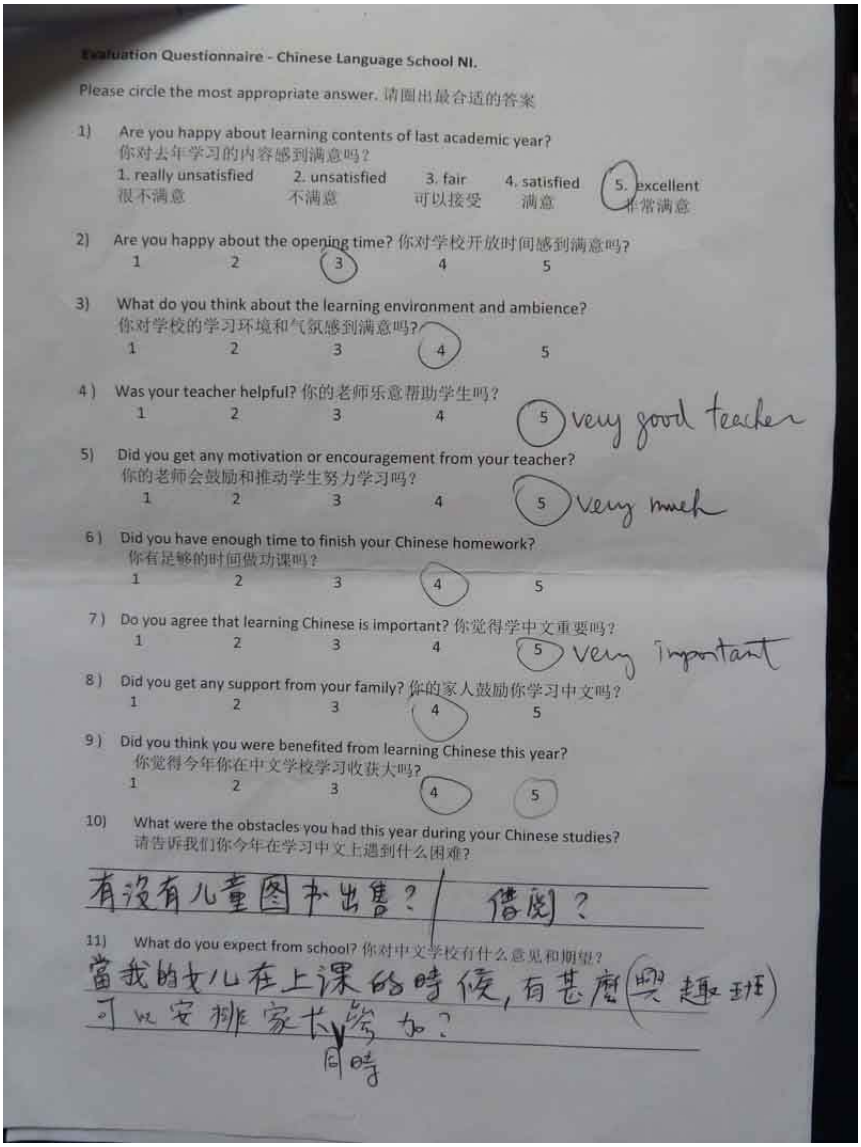
1 2 3 4 5

10) What were the obstacles you had this year during your Chinese studies?
请告诉我们你今年在学习中文上遇到什么困难？

_____

11) What do you expect from school? 你对中文学校有什么意见和期望？

_____



Evaluation Questionnaire - Chinese Language School NI.

Please circle the most appropriate answer. 请圈出最合适的答案

1) Are you happy about learning contents of last academic year?
你对去年学习的内容感到满意吗？
1. really unsatisfied 很不满意 2. unsatisfied 不满意 3. fair 可以接受 4. satisfied 满意 (5. excellent 非常满意)

2) Are you happy about the opening time? 你对学校开放时间感到满意吗？
1 2 (3) 4 5

3) What do you think about the learning environment and ambience?
你对学校的学习环境和气氛感到满意吗？
1 2 3 (4) 5

4) Was your teacher helpful? 你的老师乐意帮助学生吗？
1 2 3 4 (5) very good teacher

5) Did you get any motivation or encouragement from your teacher?
你的老师会鼓励和推动学生努力学习吗？
1 2 3 4 (5) very much

6) Did you have enough time to finish your Chinese homework?
你有足够的时间做功课吗？
1 2 3 (4) 5

7) Do you agree that learning Chinese is important? 你觉得学中文重要吗？
1 2 3 4 (5) very important

8) Did you get any support from your family? 你的家人鼓励你学习中文吗？
1 2 3 (4) 5

9) Did you think you were benefited from learning Chinese this year?
你觉得今年你在中文学校学习收获大吗？
1 2 3 (4) (5)

10) What were the obstacles you had this year during your Chinese studies?
请告诉我们你今年在学习中文上遇到什么困难？

有沒有儿童图书出售？/ 借阅？

11) What do you expect from school? 你对中文学校有什么意见和期望？

當我的女儿在上课的時候，有甚麼(興趣班)
可以安排家长陪伴的同時？

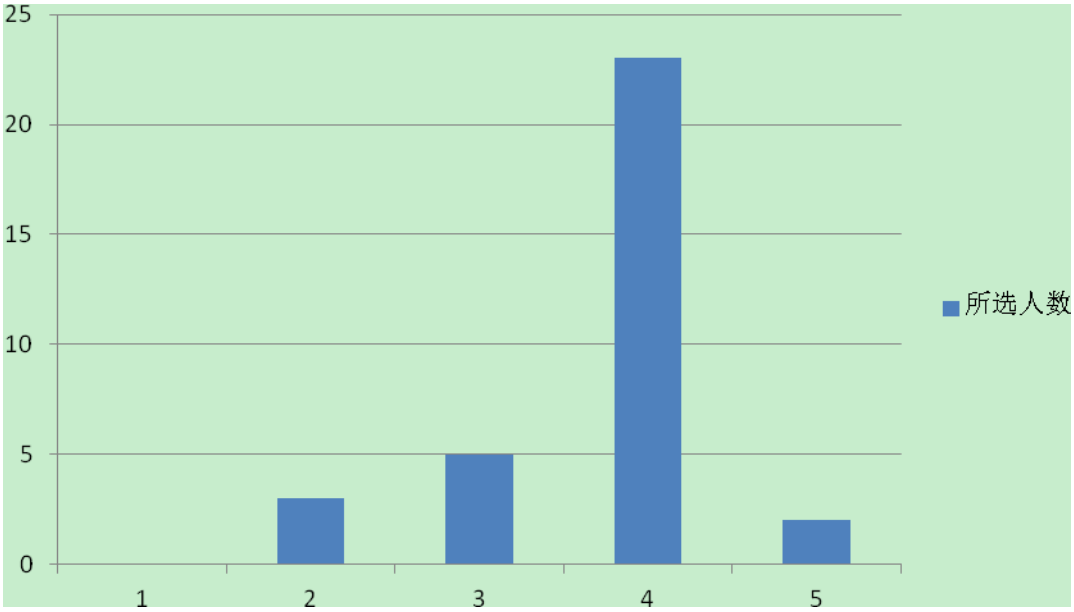
A questionnaire filled by a parent. His/her daughter is in Mandarin class P3.

Appendix 5. Evaluation Questionnaire – Chinese Language school NI.

(Total number of valid questionnaire returned: 35) Sha Wang

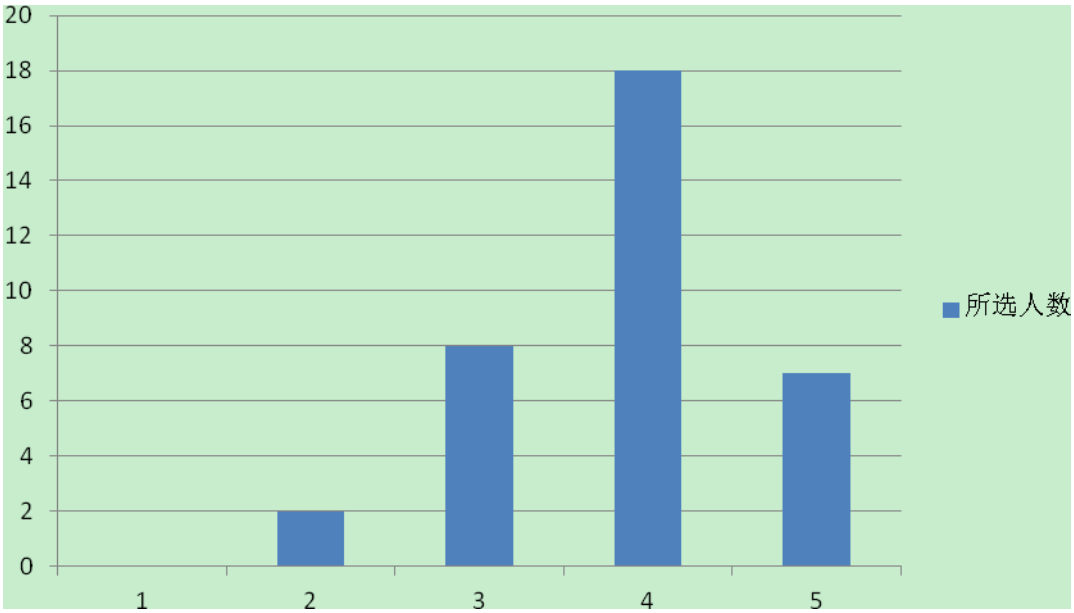
1) Are you happy about learning contents of last academic year?
你对去年学习的内容感到满意吗？

1. really unsatisfied	2. unsatisfied	3. fair	4. satisfied	5. excellent
很不满意	不满意	可以接受	满意	非常满意



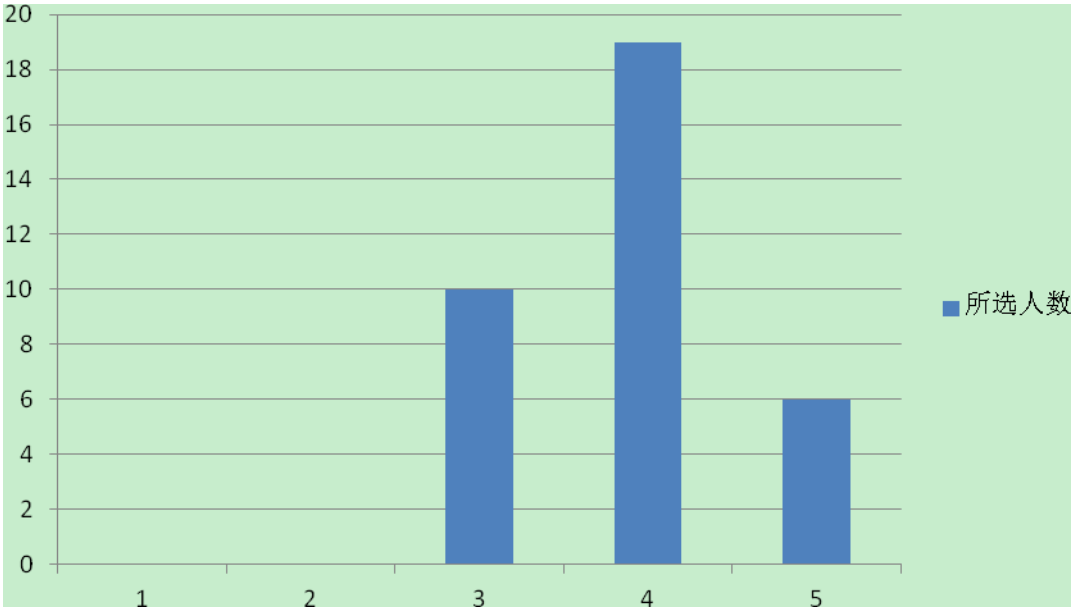
2) Are you happy about the opening time? 你对学校开放时间感到满意吗？

1. really unsatisfied	2. unsatisfied	3. fair	4. satisfied	5. excellent
很不满意	不满意	可以接受	满意	非常满意



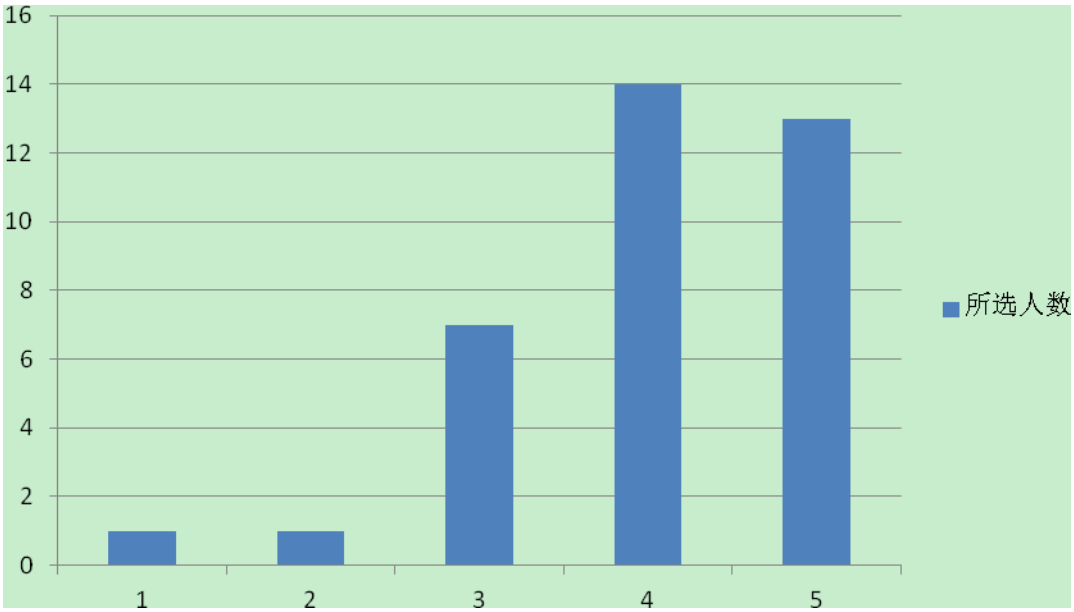
3) What do you think about the learning environment and ambience?
你对学校的学习环境和气氛感到满意吗？

1. really unsatisfied	2. unsatisfied	3. fair	4. satisfied	5. excellent
很不满意	不满意	可以接受	满意	非常满意



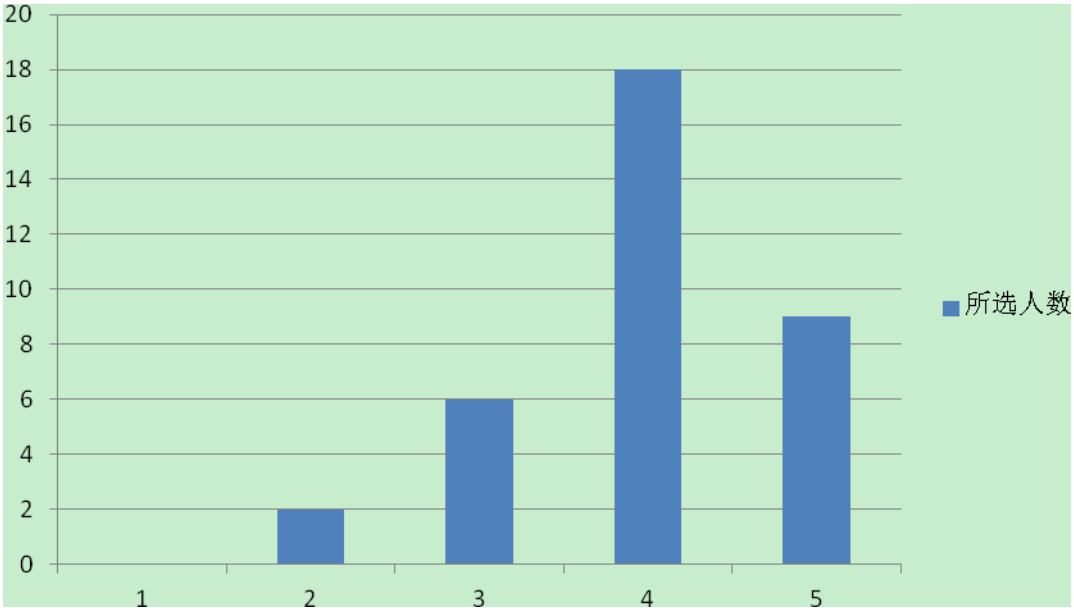
4) Was your teacher helpful?你的老师乐意帮助学生吗？

1. really unsatisfied	2. unsatisfied	3. fair	4. satisfied	5. excellent
很不满意	不满意	可以接受	满意	非常满意



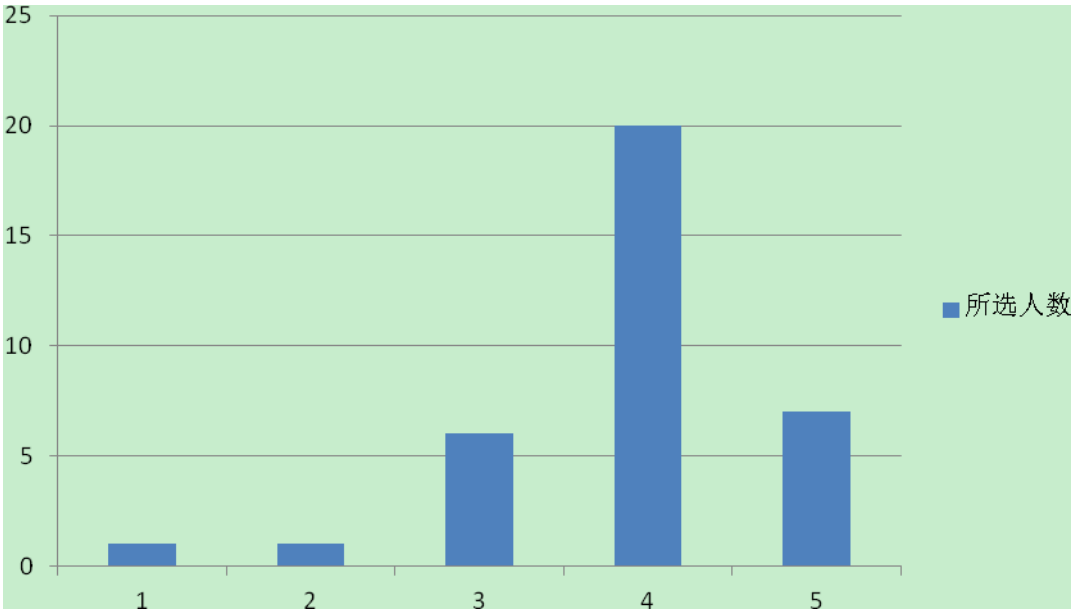
5) Did you get any motivation or encouragement from your teacher?
你的老师会鼓励和推动学生努力学习吗？

1. really unsatisfied	2. unsatisfied	3. fair	4. satisfied	5. excellent
很不满意	不满意	可以接受	满意	非常满意



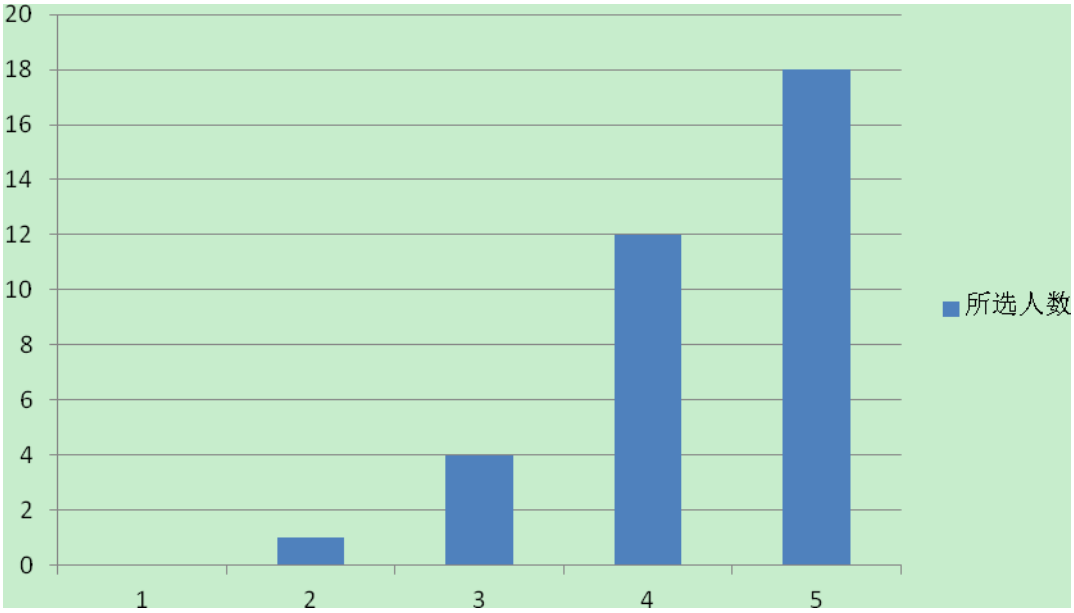
6) Did you have enough time to finish your Chinese homework?
你有足够的时间做功课吗？

1. really unsatisfied	2. unsatisfied	3. fair	4. satisfied	5. excellent
很不满意	不满意	可以接受	满意	非常满意



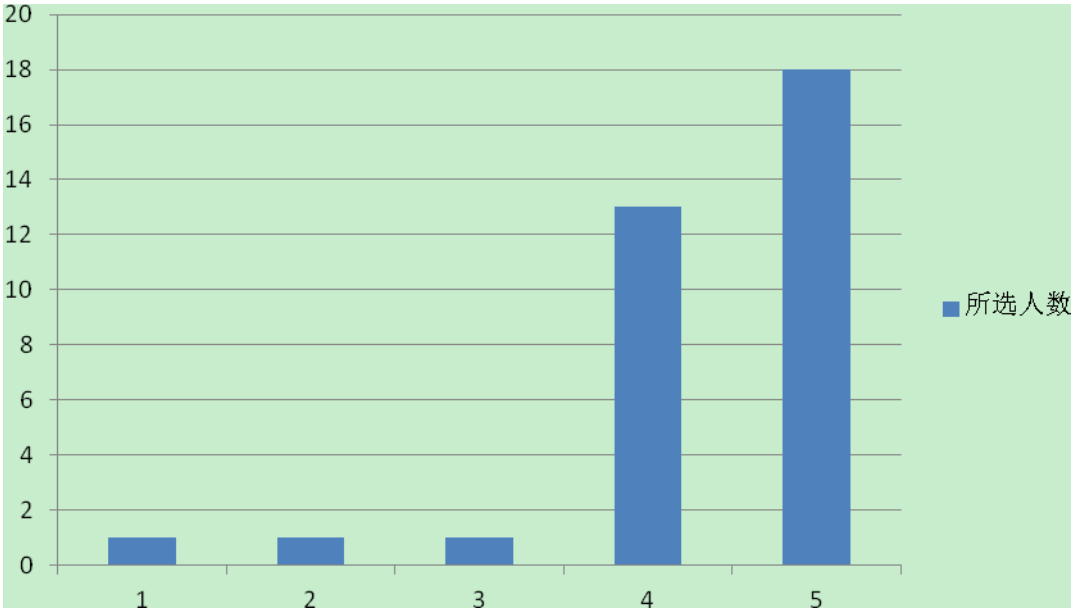
7) Do you agree that learning Chinese is important? 你觉得学中文重要吗？

1. really unsatisfied	2. unsatisfied	3. fair	4. satisfied	5. excellent
很不满意	不满意	可以接受	满意	非常满意



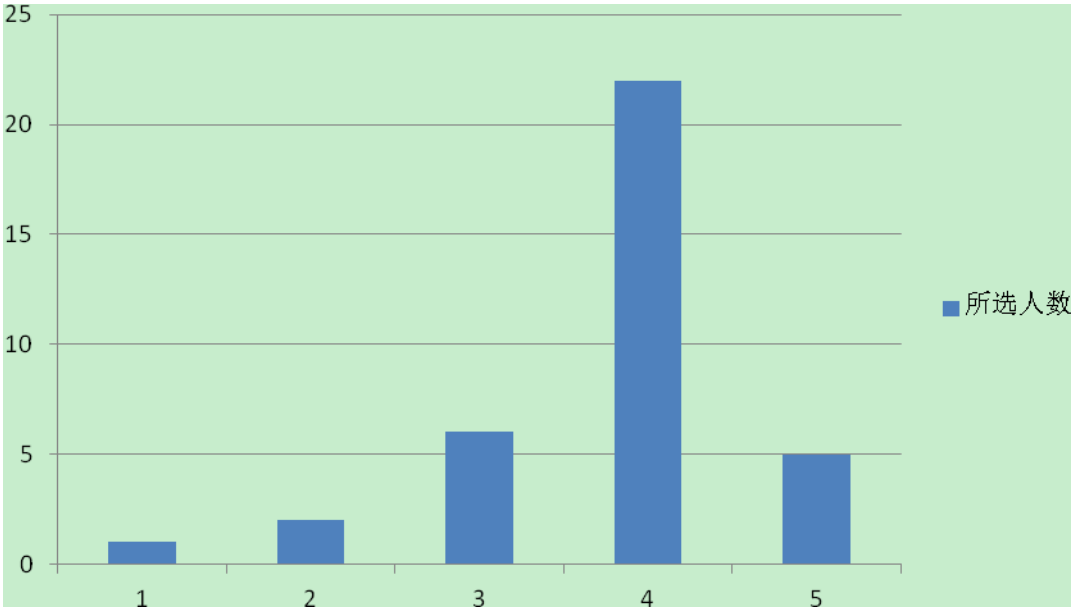
8) Did you get any support from you family? 你的家人鼓励你学习中文吗？

1. really unsatisfied	2. unsatisfied	3. fair	4. satisfied	5. excellent
很不满意	不满意	可以接受	满意	非常满意



9) Did you think you were benefited from learning Chinese this year?
你觉得今年你在中文学校学习收获大吗？

1. really unsatisfied	2. unsatisfied	3. fair	4. satisfied	5. excellent
很不满意	不满意	可以接受	满意	非常满意



10) What were the obstacles you had this year during your Chinese studies?
请告诉我们你今年在学习中文上遇到什么困难？

_____

11) What do you expect from school? 你对中文学校有什么意见和期望？

_____

Here are some answers to questions 10 and 11:

Students from GCSE class:

10. Finding words in dictionary
11. Improve Chinese

10. Reusing words
11. To learn Chinese

10. Creative/ comprehensive writing and speaking
11. I expect to improve in all aspects of Chinese language.

10. Reading Chinese
11. Nothing

Cantonese class P4
10. Had to study hard
11. To learn Chinese and get better at it.

Cantonese class P4
10. Understanding my teacher. Finding time to do work
11. To learn

10. I had a hard time with some of the homework and classwork.
11. I expect to learn lots in school but also to have fun.

10. 認識句子有點困难，难明其中意思 (I have difficulties in understanding the sentences.)

P2

10. 較小和沒在家说中文的学生，程度太高。太注重拼音（英文）和寫字，因此说话方面沒进步。(It's too hard for younger students and students who don't speak Chinese at home. We paid too much attention on Pinyin and writing. I didn't improve my oral Chinese.)

10. Lack of conversational mandarin.

AS/A2
10. Translation
11. Give me more handout

11. To be able to make learning Chinese easier.

Mandarin class P3 (filled by parents)
10. 没有 (No)
11. 期望小孩能读好中文 谢谢 （I expect my child can be good at Chinese, thanks.）

10. 有没有儿童图书出售或借阅？(Are there children's book to buy or borrow?)

11. 當我的女儿在上课的時候，有什麼(興趣班）可以安排家长同時參加？(When my daughter is having the class, are there any hobby classes for parents to attend at the same time?)

10. 没有困难。(No difficulties.)
11. 希望中文学校能招进一些相对素质比较好的老师，将来学生才能回馈社会，报效祖国。(I hope the CLS can recruit some good teachers, so the students can return society and repay motherland in the future.)

Adult Class 成人班

10. I joined classes only after Easter so found it hard to catch up with other students.
11. Motivation to keep going.

P2 Cantonese 小二 粵

10. 請代課老師次數太多。
(The lessons were taught by substitute teachers too many times.)

Questionnaires didn't specify the class:

10. Writing, reading
11. I expect that the teacher should teach you until they understand how to do the work so you can properly learn

Appendix 6. Questionnaire for my students

(Grade 2 Mandarin, term 2012-13, CLS NI)

1. Name: _____
2. Age: _____
3. Which one are you?
    A. Chinese
    B. English
    C. Irish
    D. Northern Irish
    E. Others: _____

4. Why do you go to Chinese Language School? (You can choose more than one answer)
    A. To learn Chinese
    B. To meet other Chinese friends
    C. Parents told me to study here
    D. It's my interest
    E. Others: _____

5. Do you like to go to Chinese Language School on Sunday?
    A. Yes. Reason: _____
    B. No. Reason: _____
    C. Others: _____

6. Do you like learning Chinese?

    A. Very much (go to question 7)

    B. A little bit (go to question 7)

    C. It's ok. (go to question 7 and 8)

    D. No (go to question 8)

    E. I don't like it (go to question 8)

7. Why do you **like** learning Chinese?

    A. I'm a Chinese

    B. My parents encourage me

    C. It's interesting

    D. I can talk to other Chinese family/friends

    E. Others _____

8. Why do you **dislike** learning Chinese?

    A. It's boring

    B. It's too hard

    C. My parents told me to learn it

    D. Too much homework from Chinese Language School

    E. Others _____

9. Which language do you speak with your parents?

    A. Mandarin

    B. Cantonese

    C. English

    D. Chinese and English mixed

    E. Others _____

10. Which language do you speak with your friends?

F. Mandarin

G. Cantonese

H. English

I. Chinese and English mixed

J. Others _____

11. Do you like China?

A. Yes

B. I have no idea

C. No

D. I don't like it

E. Others: _____

12. How do you learn Chinese at home?

A. I learn from textbook and doing homework myself

B. I learn from parents' talking

C. I read Chinese books

D. My parents help me

E. Others: _____

Thank you!

Appendix 7. Questions for parents from my class

(Grade 2 Mandarin)

(Anonymous)

1. Background (you, your spouse and children)
    1) Nationality and place of origin
    2) Education
    3) Occupation (in China and NI)
    4) Languages
    5) Age
    6) Immigration time and length
    7) Address (Belfast or other cities in NI)
    8) Children's year of study at school

2. Chinese language learning
    1) Why do you let them learn Chinese?
    2) Why do you let them learn Chinese at CLS?
    3) Why do they learn Mandarin/Cantonese?
    4) Do they also go to other after-school classes (art, music, sports lessons)? Also with local school work, do they feel stressed?
    5) Do they like to learn it? Were there any arguments about it? How did you solve the problem?
    6) Do you help them to learn it? How did you help them?
    7) Do you provide extra Chinese learning materials for them to learn? (books, cd, dvd, etc)
    8) Do you think there are enough Chinese learning resources here?
    9) What is difficult for your children to learn Chinese?
    10) Comparing with local schools, what should CLS and its teachers improve or change?
    11)

3. Language environment

    1) What language do you use at home?
    2) What language do your children use at home? Do you require them to speak Chinese?
    3) Do they switch languages when they talk to different people? (parents, grandparents, friends, classmates)
    4) Do you bring them to Chinese theme cultural events? Why? Does it help?

4. China trips

    1) Do you bring children back to China/your hometown?
    2) How often do you go back?
    3) Why do you go back? (to see relatives, travelling, studying, to have a holiday)
    4) What is their impression of China?
    5) Does it help them to learn Chinese/know China/know Chinese culture?

5. Future plans

    1) How well do you wish their Chinese to be?
    2) Will they take Chinese GCSE exam? Why?
    3) Do you and your children plan to stay here or go back to China in the future?
    4) Will they do work relate to China/Chinese language in the future?

6. Children's identity

    1) Who do they think they are? (Chinese, English, Irish, etc)
    2) Do you think learning and using Chinese can strengthen their sense of Chinese identity? How and any concrete examples?
    3) Did they have any experiences of discrimination or being treated unequally because of their Chinese identity?

Appendix 8. HK trip and language questionnaire

1. DOB: _____ Hometown: _____ Nationality: _____

Time moved to NI:_____ / I was born here.

Languages: (please circle)
Be able to speak: English/Cantonese/Mandarin
Be able to listen: English/Cantonese/Mandarin
Be able to read: English/Cantonese/Mandarin
Be able to write: English/Cantonese/Mandarin
Other languages or dialect: _____

2. Why did you go to HK?
A. Visit families B. Visit friends C. Travel D. with Lion dance group
E. Others _____

3. Did you enjoy the trip and why/why not?
A. Yes B. No C. No feelings
Reasons: _____

4. What did you like and dislike about HK?
Like: _____

Dislike: _____

5. Did you learn anything from the trip? (eg.: more lion dance, language, culture)

_____

_____

6. How often do you go back to HK and why?
A. Once a year B. Once every two years C. Other:_____
Reasons: _____

7. Where will you probably stay in the future? NI or HK? And why?
A. NI B. HK C. Other places: _____
Reasons: _____
★
8. How did you learn Mandarin/Cantonese here in NI?
A. Learn from parents at home B. From friends C. Chinese language school
D. Other _____

9. Do you wish to improve your Mandarin/Cantonese and why?
A. Yes B. No C. Not necessary
Reasons: _____

10. If you speak Cantonese, do you wish to learn more Mandarin? Why/why not?
A. Yes B. No C. Not necessary D. NA
Reasons: _____

Appendix 9

Interview questions for lion dancers originally from Hong Kong

1. How do you feel about Hong Kong's development from last time you visited it?
2. What cultural activities did you do there?
3. Did middle aged to elderly people enjoy the trip? (missed HK?)
4. What did people staying in HK think of their relatives abroad? (envy/wish them come back…)
5. Did Chinese young people (grown up in Belfast) enjoy the trip? (used to the life there?)
6. Why does Su stay in Hong Kong and not come back?
7. What do Hong Kong people think of western countries/people/English language?
8. What did young people learn from this trip? (language/culture/food)

Appendix 10

Interview questions for parents

1. Chinese language learning

1) At what age did they start to learn Mandarin at CLS?
2) Why do you let them learn Mandarin?
3) Do they also go to other after-school classes (art, music, sports lessons)? Also with local school work, do they feel stressed?
4) Do they like to learn it? Were there any arguments about it? How did you solve the problem?
5) Do you help them to learn it? How did you help them?
6) Do you provide extra Chinese learning materials for them to learn? (books, cd, dvd, etc)
7) Do you think there are enough Chinese learning resources here?
8) What is difficult for your children to learn Chinese?

9) Comparing with local schools, what should CLS and its teachers improve or change?

2. Language environment

1) What language do you use at home?
2) What language do your children use at home? Do you require them to speak Chinese?
3) Do they switch languages when they talk to different people? (parents, grandparents, friends, classmates)
4) Do you bring them to Chinese theme cultural events? Why? Does it help?

3. China trips

1) How often do you go back to China?
2) Why do you go back? (to see relatives, travelling, studying, to have a holiday)
3) What is their impression of China?
4) Does it help them to learn Chinese/know China/know Chinese culture?

4. Future plan

1) How well do you wish their Chinese to be?
2) Will they take Chinese GCSE exam? Why?
3) Do you and your children plan to stay here or go back to China in the future?
4) Will they do work relate to China/Chinese language in the future?

5. Children's identity

1) Who do they think they are? (Chinese, English, Irish, etc)
2) Do you think learning and using Chinese can strengthen their sense of Chinese identity?
3) Did they have any experiences of discrimination or being treated unequally because of their Chinese identity?

Appendix 11

Interview questions and informants list

Main interview questions

Questions for students' parents:

1. Where are you from and how long have you been in Belfast?

2. Do you wish your child/children to learn English/ Chinese or both?

3. Why do you wish him/her/them learn English/ Chinese or both?

4. What do you wish them to do in the future?

5. Do they listen to you or you give them more freedom and let them make their own decisions?

6. Why did you choose this language school/ Chinese class for your child/children?

7. What Chinese language level do you wish your child/children to achieve? (Basic knowledge or GCSE/A-level)

8. When, where and with whom do your children switch to another language? Any examples?

9. Did you have any arguments or quarrel about learning Chinese culture and language with your child/ children?

Questions for teachers from CLS:

1. How long have you been teaching in CLS? Why did you want to be a teacher here?

2. Which level class are you teaching and what are your students like? (eg.: students' age, language level, number, nationality and family background)

3. What's your students' mother tongue?

4. Why do they come to learn Mandarin/Cantonese?

5. Which language do they use in the class and which language do they use when they communicate with the teacher/other students/family?

6. When and where do they switch languages? Any examples?

7. Do they perform actively or negatively in the class?

8. Do students' parents care about their study in the CLS?

9. Why do parents send their children to this CLS?

10. Are there any students who are interested in the Chinese language and culture learning?

11. Will they use the new language skill they learned in CLS outside the it?

12. Were there any students who were forced to come by parents and didn't behave themselves in the class? Were there any arguments between them and parents or teachers?

13. What are the differences between CLS' teaching and local school's?

14. What about your child/children's Chinese education? Do you let them learn Chinese/English or both? Why?

15. Were there anything interesting related to language learning happened in the class?

The following table is a brief list of my interviewees:

Interview List

No.	Gender	Age	Hometown	Occupation	How long living here	Have children	Children's age	Interview date	Interview venue
1	F	30	Fu Jian, China	Mother	Many years	1 son	6	18 Jan 2011	CWA library
2	F	Around 30	Hong Kong	CLS teacher				11 Jan 2011	CWA library
3	F	..	Hei long Jiang, China	..	Taught 3 years	2 daughters	2 and 16	1 Dec 2010	Her home
4	F	Around 26	Nan jing, China	..	Taught 2 years			21 Nov 2010	Her home
5	F	Around 30	Liao Ning, China	CLS teacher	1 year	1 son (mixed)	5	28 Jan 2011	The school she works
6	F	40	Tai Wan	Insurance	1 year and a half	1 daughter and 1 son	9 years old son and 5 years old	27 Feb 2011	The space, SU
7	M	Around 50	..	CLS teacher	Teaching about 1 year	..	12 son and 10	28 Feb 2011	His home
8	F	Around 60	Move from London	Her daughter is a secretary	He daughter 7 or 8 years	Grandson	5	5 April 2011	Space, SU
9	F	Around 40	Hu Bei, China	Secretary	3 years and half	1 son	14	8 April 2011	CWA, library
10	M	23	local	Student and lion dance tutor				20 April 2011	His home
11	F	Around 40	Hong Kong	Mother	Since 1993	2 sons	6 and 4	30 April 2011	Her restaurant
12	F	37	Hu Bei, China	Mother	9 years	1 daughter	8	16 April 2011	Her home
13	M	48	Hong Kong	Take away owner	Since 1981	2 daughters, 1 son	20 daughter, 18, 15 daughter	3 May 2011	BMC
14	F	21	BBC	student	Was born here	NA	NA	25th May 2011	My home
15	F	40	Xiamen, China	Housewife and part-time job	More than 10 years	2 sons	16 and 18	June 2011	BMC
16	M	23	local	Student and lion dance tutor	Was born here	NA	NA	Sep 2011	His home
17	M	14	Canadian Chinese	Student	Was born in China	NA	NA	25 Aug 2011	My home in China
18	F	Mid 40	Canadian	Full time	Was born	2 sons	14 and 11	Aug 2011	My home

			Chinese	housewife	in Liaoning, lived in C for more than 12 years				in China
19	M	34	Liaoning, China	Policeman	NA	1 son	9 years old	Aug 2011	A hotel in Beijing
20	F	28	Liaoning, China	Self employed	NA	1 son	2 years old	Aug 2011	Her home in China
21	F	33	Liaoning, China	Waitress	3 years and a half	1 son	9 years old	20th Oct 2011	Her home
22	F	46	Malaysia	Doctor	30 years	1 girl and 1 boy	6 and 9 years old	Nov 2013	The space, SU
23	F	30s	Fujian	Housewife	10 years	2 girls	6 and 7 years old	1/12/2013	A Chinese restaurant
24	F	33	Hai Nan	Housewife	10 years	2 daughters	7 and 9 years old	April 2013	Cafe
…									
36									

Appendix 12

Information of Mandarin & Cantonese classes in CLS

Grade	Teachers age & gender	Years of teaching	Teachers' origin	Teachers' Education/ profession	Students No.	Students' age	Students' background	Students' language ability
1	Tao 30+ F	1	Mainland China		10	5-7.5	Mainland China origin and one from Malaysia	1st language: English; Competent Mandarin
2	S 20+	2	Mainland China		16	5-7	Mandarin, Cantonese and Malaysian	1st language: English; some Mandarin/Cantonese at home
3	Xiao 40+ F	2	Mainland China	Profession: Education	10	7-8	Two from Mainland China; others from Cantonese families; one from Chinese and local Irish mixed family	English; mainland Chinese speak fluent Mandarin; Cantonese speakers can speak Mandarin; the mixed one speaks Mandarin poorly
4	Yan 40+ F	1	Mainland China	Education: Master in Psychology	13	Around 9	Mainly from Mandarin-speaking families	Mainly speak English, Mandarin at different level. Can write short diary in simplified Chinese.
5	Hao 30+ F	3	Mainland China		Less than 10	8-9	Mandarin, Cantonese and Malaysian	Some speak Cantonese at home, some are competent Mandarin speakers
6	Ren 40+ F	10+	Mainland China	College degree	8	9-13	One born in HK, one born in	Two have Cantonese

							England. Others born in Belfast, mainland China origin.	accent. Others speak competent Mandarin.
7	Qu 30+							
8	Nan 20+				4	14		
Adult	Jiao 40+ M	3	Taiwan		16	14-18	Local born Chinese	1st language: English; some Mandarin/Cantonese at home

Table 1: Information of Mandarin classes in CLS

Grade	**Teachers' age & gender**	**Years of teaching**	**Teachers' origin**	**Students No.**	**Students' age**	**Students' background**	**Students' language ability**
Nursery							
1	Yang 40+ Male	2	HK	3	8-12	HK	1st language: English. Cantonese listening and speaking is ok
2							
3	Shan 30+ M	1	HK	6	10-14	Born here. Parents from Malaysia and HK	1st language: English
4	Li 30+ F	3	HK	6	From P7	Local Cantonese families	Use Cantonese or Hakka at home
5							
6							
AS/A2							

Table 2: Information of Cantonese classes in CLS

Bibliography

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1991. Writing against Culture. In *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in Present* (ed.) Richard Gabriel Fox. Santa Fe, USA: School of American Research Press.

Agnew, Vijay. 2005. *Diaspora, Memory, and Identity- A Search for Home*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ahmed, S., C. Castañeda, A. Fortier & M. Sheller, M. 2003. *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*. Oxford: Berg.

Amit, Vered & Rapport, Nigel. 2002. *The Trouble with Community: Anthropological Reflections on Movement, Identity and Collectivity*. London: Pluto.

Ammerlaan, Tom. 1996. 'You get a bit Wobbly…' Exploring Bilingual Lexical Retrieval Processes in the Context of First Language Attrition. PhD., Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andersen, Roger W. 1982. Determining the Linguistic Attributes of Language Attrition. In *The Loss of Language Skills* (eds.) Richard D. Lambert & Barbara F. Freed, 83-118. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Andreski, Stanislav. 1972. Hiding Behind Methodology. In *Social Sciences as Sorcery*. Andreski, Stanislav, 108-122. London: Deutsch.

Axel, Brian Keith. 2004. The Context of Diaspora. *Cultural Anthropology* 19 (1): 26-60.

Bailey, B. 2002. *Language, Race and Negotiation of Identity: A Study of Dominican Americans*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.

Baldassar, L 2008 Missing Kin and Longing to be Together: Emotions and the Construction of Co-presence in Transnational Relationships. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29(3): 247-266.

Baldock, C. V. 2000. Migrants and their Parents: Caregiving from a Distance. *Journal of Family Issues* 21(2): 205-224.

Ball, Samuel. 1977. Introduction. In *Motivation in Education*. London: Academic Press, INC.

Banks, Marcus. 1996. *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions*. London: Routledge.

Bardon, Jonathan. 2001. *A History of Ulster*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press.

Barron, Carol. 2011. Enabling Children's Voices in Ethnographic Writing: An Evaluation of Photographs by Children as a Data Generating Tool. *Irish*

Journal of Anthropology-Special Issue: The Value of Ethnographic Writing 14(1).

Basch, Linda; Schiller, Nina Glick & Blanc-Szanton, Cristina. 1992. Thansnationalism and the Construction of the Deterritorialized Nation: An Outline for a Theory of Post-national Practice. In Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association. Chicago.

1994. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialised Nation-States*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach.

Bauböck, Rainer & Faist, Thomas (eds.) 2010. *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Baumann, Gerd. 1996. *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi-ethnic London.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baumeister, R. & Leary, M. 1995. The Need to Belong: Desire for Interpersonal Attachments as a Fundamental Human Motivation. *Psychological Bulletin* 117: 497-529.

Becker, Howard S. & Geer, Blanche. 1960. Participant Observation: The Analysis of Qualitative Field Data. In *Adams and Preiss*, 268-269.

Benton, Gregor & Pieke, Frank N. 1998. *The Chinese in Europe*. London: Macmillan.

Berlin, Brent & Kay, Paul. 1969. *Basic Colour Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Biernacki, P. & Waldorf, D. 1981. Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling. *Sociological Methods and Research* 10: 141-163.

Black, Max. 1959. Linguistic Relativity: The Views of Benjamin Lee Whorf. *The Philosophical Review*. 68 (2): 228–238.

Blayne, Cutler. 1988. China's Little Emperors. *American Demographics* 3: 58.

Block, David. 2003. *The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

2007. *Second Language Identities*. London: Continuum.

Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Borjas, George J & Crisp, Jeff. 2005. Trends in Asylum Migration to Industrialized Countries, 1990-2001. In *Poverty, International Migration and Asylum*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of A Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1999. *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in the Contemporary World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyd, Sally. 1986. Using the Present to Predict the Future in Language Contact: The Case of Immigrant Minority Languages in Sweden. In *Language Attrition in Progress* (eds.) Bert Weltens, Kees de Bot & Theo van Els, 99-115. Dordrecht: Foris.

Boyer, E.L. 1991. *Ready to Learn: A Mandate for the Nation.* Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Browne, Kath. 2005. Snowball Sampling: Using Social Networks to Research Non-heterosexual Women. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 8 (1): 47-60.

Bryan, Dominic. 2000. *Orange parades: the politics of ritual, tradition, and control*. London: Pluto Press.

Bucholtz, Mary & Hall, Kira. 2003. Language and Identity. In *A companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (ed.) Alessandro Duranti, 368-294. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Callery, J. M. 1842. *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Language*. London: Firmin Didot frères.

Carr, Michael. 1993. Chinese 'Face' in Japanese and English (Part 2). In *The Review of Liberal Arts*. 85:69-101.

Carroll, John Mark. 2007. *A Concise History of Hong Kong*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Carver, C. & Scheier, M. 1998. *On the Self-regulation of Behaviour*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cerroni-Long, E. L. 1999. *Anthropological Theory in North America*. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Chen, Zhongping. 2004. Building the Chinese Diaspora across Canada: Chinese Diasporic Discourse and the Case of Peterborough, Ontario. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 13 (2/3): 185-210.

Chomsky, Noam. 1973. Introduction. In *Language and Cognition*. Adam Schaff. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Paperbacks.

1986. *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use*. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Christensen, Pia. 1999. *Towards an Anthropology of Childhood Sickness: An Ethnographic Study of Danish School Children*. PhD thesis, Hull University.

2004. Children's Participation in Ethnographic Research: Issues of Power and Representation. *Children and Society*. 18: 165-176.

Christensen, Pia & James, Allison. 2008. 'Childhood Diversity and Commonality: Some Methodological Insights' in *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (eds.) Christensen, Pia & James, Allison. 156-172. New York; London: Routledge.

Chu, Yiu-Wai. 2013. *Lost in Transition: Hong Kong Culture in the Age of China*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Chua, Amy. 2011. *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Clark, J. L. 1982. Measurement considerations in language attrition research. In *The Loss of Language Skills* (eds.) R. D. Lambert & B. F. Freed, 138-152. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Clément, R. 1980. Ethnicity, Contact and Communicative Competence in a Second Language. In *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives* (eds.) H. Giles, W. P. Robinson & P. M. Smith, 147-177. Oxford: Pergamon.

Clément, R., Dörnyei, Z. & Noels, K. A. 1994. Motivation, Self-confidence and Group Cohesion in the Foreign Language Classroom. *Language Learning*. 44: 417-448.

Clément, R. & Kruidenier, G. 1985. Aptitude, Attitude and Motivation in Second Language Proficiency: A Test of Clement's Model. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 4: 21-37.

Cohen, Abner. 1969. *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Comitas, Lambros. 1992. Preface. In *Towards A Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* (eds.) Schiller, Nina Glick, Basch, Linda & Blanc-Szanton, Cristina. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Conteh, Jean and Brock, A. 2011. Children's Rights, Identity and Learning: The Case for Bilingualism. In *Children's Rights in Practice* (eds.) Jones P & Walker G. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications Ltd.

Corsaro, William A. & Molinari, Luisa. 2017. 'Entering and Observing in Children's Worlds: A Reflection on a Longitudinal Ethnography of Early Education in Italy' in *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (eds.) Christensen, Pia & James, Allison. 11-30. Abingdon: Routledge.

Crystal, David. 1987. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2002. *Language Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Daft, R. L. 2008. *The Leadership Experience*. Mason, OH: South-Western, Cengage Learning.

Davidson, Donald. 1973. On the Very Idea of a Conceptual Scheme. In *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*. 47: 5–20.

Davies, Alan. 1986. Language Loss and Symbolic Gain: The Meaning of Institutional Maintenance. In *Language Attrition in Progress* (eds.) Bert Weltens, Kees de Bot & Theo van Els, 117-127. Dordrecht: Foris.

Davis, John, Watson, Nick & Cunningham-Burley, Sarah. 2017. 'Disabled Children, Ethnography and Unspoken Understandings: The Collaborative Construction of Diverse Identities' in *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (eds.) Christensen, Pia & James, Allison. 121-141. Abingdon: Routledge.

De Bot, K. & Bert Weltens. 1991. Recapitulation, Regression, and Language Loss. In *First Language Attrition* (eds.) Herbert W. Seliger and Robert M. Vago, 31-51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Bot, K., Gommans, P. & Rossing, C. 1991. L1 Loss in an L2 Environment: Dutch Immigrants in France. In *First Language Attrition* (eds.) H. Seliger & R. Vago. 87-98. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

De Bot, K. & Michael Clyne. 1989. Language Reversion Revisited. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 11(2): 167-177.

DeFrancis, John. 1984. *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Derry City Council & Sai Pak Chinese Community Project 2008. *From the Far East to the Far West-40 years history of the Chinese Community in the North West*. Derry/Londonderry: Derry City Council Community Relations; Waterside Community Services Office.

Doherty, P., & Poole, M.A. 1995. *Ethnic Residential Segregation in Belfast*. Coleraine: Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster.

1997. Ethnic Segregation in Belfast, Northern Ireland, 1971-1991. Geographical Review 87(4): 520-536.

Dorian, Nancy C. 1982. Language Loss and Maintenance in Language Contact Situations. In *The Loss of Language Skills* (eds.) Richard D. Lambert & Barbara F. Freed, 44-59. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Dow, James R. 1991. Language and Ethnicity. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Duranti, Alessandro. 1997. *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(ed.) 2009. *Linguistic Anthropology - A reader*. West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing.

Easthope, Hazel. 2009. Fixed Identities in a Mobile World? The Relationship between Mobility, Place, and Identity. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 16: 61-82.

Editorial. 1998. *Causeway: Cultural Traditions Journal* 5(1).

Elias, N. 1991. *The Society of Individuals*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Els, T. van. 1986. An Overview of European Research on Language Attrition. In *Language Attrition in Progress* (eds.) Bert Weltens, Kees de Bot & Theo van Els, 3-18. Dordrecht: Foris.

Ember, Melvin, Ember, Carol R. & Skoggard, Ian (eds.) 2004. *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures around the World*. US: Springer.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2010a. *Ethnicity and Nationalism-Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.

2010b. *Small Places, Large Issues: An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press.

Evans Braziel, J. & Mannur, Anita 2003. *Theorizing Diaspora*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Feng, Bing. 2005. *Ethnicity, Children & Habitus: Ethnic Chinese School Children in Northern Ireland*. Bern: Peter Lang AG.

Fong, Vanessa L. 2004. *Only Hope: Coming of Age under China's One-child Policy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Fox, Kate. 2004. *Watching the English: The Hidden Rules of English Behaviour*. London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd.

Freed, Barbara F. 1982. Language Loss: Current thoughts and future directions. In *The Loss of Language Skills* (eds.) Richard D. Lambert and Barbara F. Freed, 1-5. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gao, Mingkai (高名凯) & Shi, Anshi (石安石). 2002. *Yuyanxue Gailun* （语言学概论） [*An Introduction to Linguistics*]. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju (中华书局).

Gardner, R. C. 1985. *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*. London, Ontario: Edward Arnold.

1988. The Socio-educational Model of Second-language Learning: Assumptions, Findings, and Issues. *Language Learning* 38: 101-126.

2006. *Motivation and Second Language Acquisition.* London, Canada: University of Western Ontario.

Gardner, R. C. & Lambert, Wallace E. 1972. *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gardner, R. C. & MacIntyre, P. D. 1991. An Instrumental Motivation in Language Study: Who Says It Isn't Effective? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 13: 57-72.

Gardner, R. C. & Wallace E. Lambert. 1972. *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Glick-Schiller, N., L. Basch & C. Blanc Szanton 1992. *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Goh, Robbie B.H. & Wong, Shawn. 2004. *Asian Diasporas: Cultures, Identities, Representations*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Gollwizer, P. 1999. Implementation Intentions: Strong Effects of Simple Plans. *American Psychologist* 54: 493-503.

Gumperz, J.J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guthrie, Larry F. 1983. *Contrasts in Teachers' Language Use in a Chinese-English Bilingual Classroom*. Washington, DC: National Inst. of Education (ED).

Hainsworth, Paul. 1998. Race and ethnicity in Northern Ireland: the Chinese community. In *Divided Society: Ethnic Minorities and Racism in Northern Ireland*, 127-151. London: Pluto.

Håkansson, Gisela. 1995. Syntax and Morphology in Language Attrition: A Study of Five Bilingual Expatriate Swedes. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 5(2): 153-171.

Hamilton, Peter. 1985. Editor's Foreword. In t*he Symbolic Construction of Community*. Cohen, Anthony. London: Routledge.

Harrell, Stevan. 1990. Introduction. In *Violence in China* (eds.) Lipman, Jonathan N. & Harrell, Steven. 1-25. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Hickey, D. 1997. Motivation and Contemporary Socio-constructivist Instructional Perspectives. *Educational Psychologist* 32: 175-193.

Hymes, Dell. 1964. *Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*. US: University of California.

1971. Sociolinguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking. In *Social Anthropology and Language*. Edwin Ardener, 47-93. London: Tavistock Pulications Limited.

1974a. Ways of Speaking. In *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking* (eds.) Bauman, Richard & Sherzer, Joel, 433-451. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1974b. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. US: University of Pennsylvania Press.

1977. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics-An Ethnographic Approach*. London: Tavistock Publications Limited.

Irwin, Greg &Dunn, Seamus. 1997. *Ethnic Minorities in Northern Ireland*. Coleraine: University of Ulster.

Isurin, Ludmila. 2000. 'Deserted Island' or A Child's First Language Forgetting. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 3(2): 151-166.

2007. Teachers' Language: The Effects of L1 Attrition. *The Modern Language Journal* 91(3): 357-372.

2011. *Russian Diaspora: Culture, Identity, and Language Change*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Jackson, Bruce. 1987. *Fieldwork*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Jaspaert, Koen, Sjaak Kroon and Roeland van Hout. 1986. Points of Reference in First Language Loss Research. In *Language Attrition in Progress* (eds.) Bert Weltens, Kees de Bot & Theo van Els, 37-49. Dordrecht: Foris.

Jenkins, Richard. 1996. *Rethinking Ethnicity*. London: Sage. 2004. *Social identity.* London: Routledge.

Johnson, F.L. 2000. Speaking Culturally: Language Diversity in the United States. London: Sage.

Jones, Bob Morris & Ghuman, Paul A. Singh. 1995. Acculturation, Ethnic Identity and Community Languages: A Study of Indo-Canadian Adolescents. In

Bilingualism, Education and Identity, 213-236. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Jones, Carol A. G. 2015. *Lost in China?: Law, Culture and Society in Post-1997 Hong Kong*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kai, Jiang. 2012. The Origin and Consequences of Excess Competition in Education. *Chinese Education & Society* 45(2): 8-20.

Kaufman, Dorit Hannah. 1992. First Language Attrition as a Creative Interplay between Two Languages. PhD. SUNY at Stony Brook.

Kaufman, D. & Aonoff, M. 1991. Morphological Disintegration and Reconstruction in First Language Attrition. In *First Language Attrition* (eds.) H. Seliger & R. Vago. 175-189. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kempny, Marta. 2010a. *Crossing Boundaries of Cultures and Identities: Polish Migrants in Belfast*. PhD. Queen's University Belfast.

2010b. *Polish Migrants in Belfast: Border Crossing and Identity Construction*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Kondo-Brown, Kimi (ed.) 2006. *Heritage Language Development: Focus on East Asian Immigrants*. Amsterdam, NLD: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kopke, B. & Schmid, M. 2004. Language Attrition: The next Phase. In *First Language Attrition: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Methodological Issues* (eds.) M. Schmid, B. Kopke, M. Keijzer & L. Weilemar, 1-47. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Krashen, Stephen D. 1987. *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*. New Jersey, USA: Prentice-Hall International.

1988. *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning*. New Jersey, USA: Prentice-Hall International.

Kroeber, Alfred L. 1963 [1923]. *Anthropology: Culture Patterns and Processes*. New York: Harbinger Books.

Kurpaska, Maria. 2010. *Chinese Language(s): A Look through the Prism of 'The Great Dictionary of Modern Chinese Dialects'*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Lambert, Richard D. 1989. Language Attrition. *Review of Applied Linguistics (I. T. L.)* 83-84: 1-18.

Lambert, Richard D. & Freed, Barbara F. 1982. *The Loss of Language Skills*. Newbury House Publishers.

Lambert, Richard D. & Sarah J. Moore. 1986. Problem Areas in the Study of Language Attrition. In *Language Attrition in Progress* (eds.) Bert Weltens, Kees de Bot & Theo van Els, 177-186. Dordrecht: Foris.

Lancy, David F., Bock, John C. & Gaskins, Suzanne. 2009. *The Anthropology of Learning in Childhood*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Lee, Everett S. 1966. A Theory of Migration. *Demography*. 3 (1): 47-57.

Lee, Sunyoung. 2011. 'Who Do You Think You Are?': the Identities of Chinese Ethnic Minority Children in Northern Ireland. PhD. Queen's University Belfast.

Leets, Laura & Howard Giles. 1995. Dimensions of Minority Language Survival/non-survival: Intergroup Cognition and Communication Climates. In *The State of Minority Languages: International Perspectives on Survival and Decline* (eds.) Willem Fase, Koen Jaspaert & Sjaak Kroon, 37-73. Lisse: Sweets/Zeitlenger.

Levitt, Peggy 2002. *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Liang, Sihua. 2014. *Language Attitudes and Identities in Multilingual China: A Linguistic Ethnography*. New York: Springer International Publishing.

Lie, John 1995. From International Migration to Transnational Diaspora. *Contemporary Sociology* 24(4): 303-306.

Lin, Mei-liang. 2011. Students' Motivation and Attitudes in an Online Distance English Course for Placement Year Undergraduates in Taiwan. PhD, Queen's University Belfast.

Li, Wei. 1994. *Three Generations, Two Languages, One Family: Language Choice and Language Shift in a Chinese Community in Britain*. England: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Loughrey, Dolores, etc. 2003. Integrated Primary Schools and Community Relations in Northern Ireland. *The Irish Journal of Education / Iris Eireannach an Oideachais*. 34: 30- 46.

Lussier, R. N. & Achua, C. F. 2007. *Leadership: Theory Application, Skill Development*. Mason, OH: Thomson South-Western.

Magee, John & Magee, Jack. 1974. *Northern Ireland: crisis and conflict*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Ma, Laurence J. C. & Cartier, Carolyn L. 2003. *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Malotki, Ekkehart. 1983. Hopi Time: A Linguistic Analysis of the Temporal Concepts in the Hopi Language. In *Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs* (ed.) Werner Winter. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers.

Marian, V., Blumenfeld, H. & Kaushanskaya, M. 2007. The Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q): Assessing Language Profiles in Bilinguals and Multi-linguals. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research* 50: 940-967.

Martin, P. & Zurcher, G. 2008. Managing Migration: The Global Challenge. *Population Bulletin* 63 (1): 1-19.

McClelland, D. C., Atkinson, J. W., Clark, R. A. & Lowell, E. L. 1958. A Scoring Manual for the Achievement Motive. In *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society*. J. W. Atkinson, 179-204. Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.

Middlebrook, Kevin J & Rico, Carlos. 1986. *The United States and Latin America in the 1980s*. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh.

Modood, Tariq and Werbner, Pnina. 1997. *The politics of multiculturalism in the new Europe: racism, identity, and community Postcolonial encounters.* UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Montrul, S. 2008. *Incomplete Acquisition in Bilinguals: Re-examining the Age Factor*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Mung, Emmanuel Ma. 2004. Dispersal as a Resource. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*. 13 (2/3): 211-225.

Ng, Patrick. 2011. Mandarin Language and the Cultural Identity of Chinese Dialect Speaking Singaporeans. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*. 14: 41-53.

Norman, Jerry. 1988. Chinese. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2006. The Chinese Dialects: Phonology. In *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*. Thurgood, Graham & LaPolla, Randy J., 72–83. London: Routledge.

N. Pieke, Frank & Mallee, Hein 1999. *Internal and international migration: Chinese perspectives*. UK: Routledge.

Northern Ireland Assembly. 2011. Migration in Northern Ireland: A Demographic Perspective. Research and Information Service Research Paper.

Northern Ireland Statistics &Research Agency. 2012. *Census 2011: Key Statistics for Northern Ireland*. Statistics Bulletin.

Oxford, Rebecca L. 1982. Technical Issues in Designing and Conducting Research on Language Skill Attrition. In *The Loss of Language Skills* (eds.) Richard D. Lambert and Barbara F. Freed, 119-137. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Pang, Lai Chun. 1996. An Investigation into the Social Structure of the Chinese community in Belfast. M.Phil. Queen's University Belfast.

Parker, David. 1998. *Chinese People in Britain: Histories, Futures and Identities in 'The Chinese in Europe'*. London: Macmillan.

2005. Going with the Flow? Reflections on Recent Chinese Diaspora Studies. Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies 14(2/3): 411-423.

Peltz, Rakhmiel. 1991. Ethnic Identity and Aging: Children of Jewish Immigrants Return to Their First Language. In *Focus on Language and Ethnicity: Essays in Honor of Joshua A. Fishman*. *Volume 2* (ed.) Dow, James R. San. 183-206. Diego: University of California.

Pinker, Steven. 1994. *The Language Instinct: How the Mind Creates Language*. New York City: Harper Perennial.

2007. *The Stuff of Thought: Language as a Window into Human Nature*. London: Penguin Books.

Pintrich, P. R. 2000. The Role of Goal Orientation in Self-regulated Learning. In *Handbook of Self-regulation* (eds.) M. Boekaerts, P. R. Pintrich & M. Zeidner, 451-502. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

2003. A Motivational Science Perspective on the Role of Student Motivation in Learning and Teaching Contexts. *Journal of Educational Psychology*. 95 (4): 667-686.

Pintrich, P. R. & Schunk, D. H. 2002. *Motivation in Education: Theory, Research, and Applications* (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Prescher, Petra. 2007. Identity, Immigration and First Language Attrition. In *Language Attrition: Theoretical Perspectives*. Köpke, Barbara, et al. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

PuruShotam, Nirmala Srirekam. 1998. Negotiating Language, Constructing Race: Disciplining Difference in Singapore. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Raj, Dhooleka Sarhadi. 2003. *Where are you from?: middle-class migrants in the modern world*. US: University of California Press.

Ramsey, S. Robert. 1987. *The Languages of China*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Rapport, Nigel and Dawson, Andrew. 1998. *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of 'Home' in a World of Movement*. Oxford: Berg.

Ravenstein, E. G. 1889. The Laws of Migration. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*. LII: 241-301.

Reddy, William M. 1999. Emotional Liberty: Politics and History in the Anthropology of Emotions. *Cultural Anthropology* 14(2): 256-288.

Reed-Danahay, Deborah. 2005. *Locating Bourdieu*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Roberts, Helen. 2017. 'Listening to Children: and Hearing Them' in *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (eds.) Christensen, Pia & James, Allison. 142-159. Abingdon: Routledge.

Russell, Raymond. 2012. Migration in Northern Ireland: An Update. In *Research and Information Service Research Paper*. Belfast: Northern Ireland Assembly.

Sapir, E. 1929. The Status of Linguistics as a Science. In *Culture, Language and Personality* (ed.) D. G. Mandelbaum. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Schiller, Nina Glick. 1995. From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly* 68(1): 48-63.

Schmid, Monika S. 2002. *First Language Attrition, Use and Maintenance: The Case of German Jews in Anglophone Countries*. Philadelphia, PA, USA: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Seliger, Herbert W. & Robert M. Vago. 1991. The Study of First Language Attrition: An overview. In *First Language Attrition* (eds.) Herbert W. Seliger & Robert M. Vago, 3-15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Selinker, Larry. 1972. Interlanguage. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching (IRAL)* 10: 209-231.

Sharwood Smith, Michael. 1983. On First Language Loss in the Second Language Acquirer. In *Language Transfer in Language Learning* (eds.) Susan Gass & Larry Selinker, 222-231. Rowley MA: Newbury House.

1989. Crosslinguistic Influence in Language Loss. In *Bilingualism across the Lifespan* (eds.) Kenneth Hyltenstam and Loraine K. Obler, 185-201. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sharwood Smith, Michael & Paul Van Buren. 1991. First Language Attrition and the Parameter Setting Model. In *First Language Attrition* (eds.) Herbert W. Seliger and Robert M. Vago, 17-30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sheffer, Gabriel. 2003. *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2006. Transnationalism and Ethnonational Diasporism. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 15 (1): 121-145.

Sinn, Elizabeth. 1998. The Indigenization of Overseas Chinese in Japan as Seen from the Indigenization of Their Education. In *The Last Half Century of Chinese Overseas*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Skrbiš, Z. 2008. Transnational Families: Theorising Migration, Emotions and Belonging. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29(3): 231-246.

Smith, Michael Garfield. 1965. *The Plural Society in the British West Indies.* Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Smith, T. Lynn. 1941. Characteristics of Migrants. *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*. 21 (4): 335-350.

Sue, Derald Wing. 2010. *Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

Sun, Wanning. 2005. Media and the Chinese Diaspora: Community, Consumption, and Transnational Imagination. *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 1(1): 65-86.

Svašek, M. 2008. Who Cares? Families and Feelings in Movement. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29(3): 213-230.

2010. On the Move: Emotions and Human Mobility. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (6): 865-880.

Talai, Vered Amit. 1989. Armenians in London: the management of social boundaries. *Anthropological studies of Britain* 4(4).

Thomas, Nigel. 2017. 'Turning the Tables: Children as Researchers' in *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (eds.) Christensen, Pia & James, Allison. 160-179. Abingdon: Routledge.

Trang, T. T. T. 2007. Demotivation: Understanding Resistance to English Language Learning- the Case of Vietnamese Students. *The Journal of Asia TEFL 4*(1): 79-105.

Tsang, Steve Yui-Sang. 2004. *A Modern History of Hong Kong*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Valentine, G. 1993. (Hetero) Sexing Space: Lesbian Perceptions and Experiences of Everyday Spaces. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 4(11): 395-413.

Walker, Richard L. 1956. *China under Communism-The First Five Years*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Weinreich, Uriel. 1953. *Language in Contact. Findings and Problems.* New York NY: Linguistic Circle of New York.

Weltens, Bert & Andrew D. Cohen. 1989. Language Attrition. In *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 11(2): 127-133.

White, B. L., Kaban, B. & Attanucci, J. 1979. *The Origins of Human Competence: The Final Report of the Harvard Preschool Project.* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Whorf, B. L. 1940. Science and Linguistics. In *Technology Review*. 42(6): 229-248. 1956. *Language, Thought and Reality* (ed.) J. B. Carroll. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Williams, Brackette F. 1991. *Stains on my name, war in my veins: Guyana and the politics of cultural struggle*. US: Duke University Press.

Wise, Amanda. 2010. Sensuous Multiculturalism: Emotional Landscapes of Inter-Ethnic Living in Australian Suburbia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 36(6): 917-937.

Wolf, Diane L. 2002. There's No Place Like 'Home': Emotional Transnationalism and the Struggles of Second-generation Filipinos'. In *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation* (eds.) Levitt, P. and M.C. Waters, 255-294. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Woodhead, Martin & Faulkner, Dorothy. 2008. 'Subject, Objects or Participants? Dilemmas of Psychological Research with Children' in *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (eds.) Christensen, Pia & James, Allison. 10-39. New York; London: Routledge.

Woolard, Kathryn A. 1991. Linkages of Language and Ethnic Identity: Changes in Barcelona, 1980-1987. In *Focus on Language and Ethnicity: Essays in Honor of Joshua A. Fishman*. *Volume 2* (ed.) Dow, James R. 61-82. San Diego: University of California.

Wu, David Yen-ho. 1991. The Construction of Chinese and Non-Chinese Identities. In *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*. 120 (2): 159-179.

Yeoh, B. S.A., S. Huang & T. Lam. 2005. Transnationalizing the "Asian" Family: Imaginaries, Intimacies and Strategic Intents. *Global Networks* 5(4): 307-315.

Zhao, Y. and Qiu, W. 2009. How Good Are the Asians? Refuting Four Myths about Asian-American Academic Achievement. *Phi Delta Kappan* 90(5): 338-344.

Zheng, Yongnian & Yew, Chiew Ping (eds.) 2013. *Hong Kong under Chinese Rule: Economic Integration and Political Gridlock*. New Jersey: World Scientific.

Zhou, Yanyu. 2008. *Success for All: A Comprehensive Educational Reform for Improving At-Risk Students in an Urban School in China*. Charlotte, NC: IAP.

Zhu, Hua. 2008. Duelling Languages, Duelling Values: Codeswitching in Bilingual Intergenerational Conflict Talk in Diasporic Families. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40: 1799–1816.

Zimmerman, B. J. 2000. Attaining Self-regulation: A Social-cognitive Perspective. In *Handbook of Self-regulation: Theory, Research, and Applications* (eds.) M. Boekaerts, P. R. Pintrich & M. Zeidner, 13-39. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Internet Sources:

A Black Man Wore Different Kinds of Clothing to See if People Treated Him Differently (*http://www.buzzfeed.com/pedrofequiere/i-dressed-up-and-dressed-down-for-a-week-and-this-is-what-ha#.tkkvWq35j*, accessed 13 April 2016).

Belfast in top 10 safest cities in UK – report. (*http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/northern-ireland-news/belfast-in-top-10-safest-cities-in-uk-report-1-1865844*, accessed 23 March 2016).

Branigan, Tania. 2012. Chinese Parents Defrauded by 'Perfect' Education. (*http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/aug/28/parents-china-education-children-course*, accessed 3 December 2012).

Coughlan, Sean. 2011. Education spending 'falling fastest since 1950s'. (*http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-15430189*, accessed 14 March 2013).

Dewar, Gwen. 2011. Traditional Chinese Parenting: What Research Says about Chinese Kids and Why They Succeed. (*http://www.parentingscience.com/chinese-parenting.html*, accessed 23 October 2012).

Economy in Northern Ireland shrinks by 0.1%, figures show. (*http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-34537519*, accessed 23 March 2016).

Guidelines and Resources for the Oregon Department of Education. 2007. Appendix D- Second Language Acquisition Stages and Related Linguistic Patterns. (*http://www.finchpark.com/courses/tkt/Unit_27/Second-Language-Stages.pdf*, accessed 30 January 2015).

How welcome are Poles in Northern Ireland?
(*http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/8673012.stm*, accessed 13 April 2016).

Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (中华人民共和国教育部) 2000.
《中华人民共和国国家通用语言文字法》[Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language (Order of the President No. 37)]
(*http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_619/200409/3131.html*, accessed 28 December 2016).

Pew Global Attitudes Project. 2011. Complete Report on 'How Much Pressure Are Parents Putting on Students?' (*www.pewglobal.org*, accessed 3 December 2012).

Shepherd, Jessica & Stevens, John. 2010. Children of university-educated Parents More Likely to Excel at School. The Guardian
(*http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2010/apr/26/university-school-grades-child-background*, accessed 15 March 2013)

The State Council The People's Republic of China (中华人民共和国中央人民政府) 2016.
"强国必须强语，强语助力强国" (*http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2016-09/22/content_5110621.htm*, accessed 28 December 2016).

The Troubles, 1963 to 1985.

(*http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/recent/troubles/the_troubles_article_01.shtml*, accessed 11 September 2010).

Wushu Sports Management Centre of the State Sports General Administration 2016. 中国武术发展五年规划（2016-2020 年）('Five - Year Plan of Chinese Wushu Development (2016-2020)') (Official website for Chinese Wushu Association: *http://www.wushu.com.cn/dzzw_xq.asp?id=105&select1=%CD%A8%D6%AA%B9%AB%B8%E6*, accessed 11 January 2017).

Chinese references:

王德春 (Wang, Dechun).2002. 多角度研究语言 (Multi-angle Language Research). 北京 (Beijing)：清华大学出版社有限公司.

王廣西著 (Wang, Guangxi). 2002. 功夫：中國武術文化 (Kung fu: Chinese Martial Art Culture). 台北 (Taipei)：知書房出版社.

中国华侨历史学会 (Overseas Chinese History Academy). 2009. 華僑華人資料 (Data of Overseas Chinese and Ethnic Chinese). Issues 1.